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STUDIES IN THE SCRIPT OF TOURS, I

A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TOURS

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A SURVEY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF TOURS

BY

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VOLUME I, TEXT

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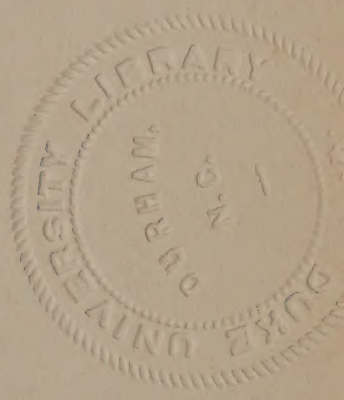

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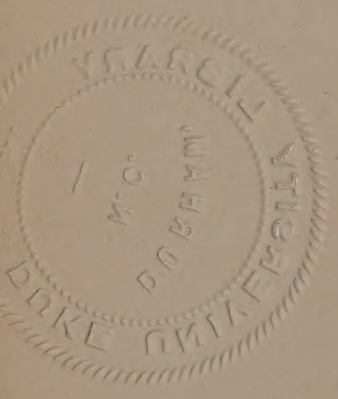

Preface

LEOPOLD DELISLE in an epoch-making brochure, entitled *L'École Calligraphique de Tours* and published in 1885, laid the foundation for a scientific study of the script of Tours. Before his time there may have been some, like Mabillon, Montfaucon and the authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, who consciously or unconsciously were familiar with the general features of a book of Tours, but Delisle was the first to give a list of important manuscripts of that school and to discuss their characteristics. He mentioned twenty-five [1] and presented four excellent facsimiles of one of the most famous, a book written by Adalbaldus in the abbacy of Fridugisus and preserved today at the library in Quedlinburg; it contains the collection known as the "Martinellus," comprising the life of St. Martin by Sulpicius Severus, the latter's *Dialogues* and other pieces in honor of the saint. An obvious ear-mark of the books of Tours, as Delisle showed, is the presence of an elegant sort of semiuncials, employed for important sections of the text, and also as an element in the hierarchical succession of scripts at the beginning of such a section. In the *Journal des Savants* for 1902, Delisle published an article on the *Gospels of Prüm*, in which he made three additions to his list, bringing the number up to twenty-eight.[2]

Among the manifold projects of Ludwig Traube, my revered master and unfailing friend, was a study of semiuncial, including the semiuncial of Tours. He had collected photographs and made a new list of generous scope, including not only the certain manuscripts of Tours but those that contained the kind of semiuncial that suggested Tours; some of these books he had designated as "Turonisierend." Through the kindness of Traube's successor, Professor Paul Lehmann, I was permitted to examine Traube's collections in 1912; they were naturally of the utmost importance for my studies. In his edition of *Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta* (in the De Vries series,

1. In the list of Part B of the present work, Nos. 26, 27, 51, 56, 63, 64, 70, 77, 80, 82, 84, 88, 91, 100, 105, 109, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 132, 133, 135.
2. Nos. 30, 79, 145.

1902, p. xx), Traube declared: *Verum haec alio loco persequar, ubi simul cum scriptura semiunciali scholae Turonensis singularia merita exponam.* Would that his hand had been spared to write the history of the script of Tours as none other could have done it! I had become specially interested in this script in 1911, in connection with certain problems in Suetonius propounded by my beloved master and colleague, the late Albert Andrew Howard, who fostered my studies at every turn. In the year 1912–13, while Annual Professor at the American Academy in Rome, I investigated the books on the lists of Delisle and Traube and others. Helped by a goodly appropriation from the Milton Fund of Harvard University, I returned to this pleasant quest in the summer of 1925 and again from July 1926 to September 1927.

At first I had intended to follow the subject no farther than the middle of the ninth century, when the art of Tours reached its zenith, but after examining, in 1925, all the books now at Tours that are dated eleventh century or earlier, as well as some of the twelfth century, I decided to include at least certain specimens of the later development of the script of Tours — a subject that would repay a more careful investigation. I have been greatly aided by various friends who have pointed out, from time to time, new possibilities for the list and new points to observe in the study of the script. Acknowledgement is made in the *Index of Manuscripts* (below, p. 209) for the different books suggested. In particular, W. M. Lindsay, E. A. Lowe and Dom A. Wilmart, O.S.B., have made suggestions and furnished information without which my studies would have been strewn with faults of omission and commission. I am similarly indebted to C. H. Beeson, Ph. Lauer, P. Lehmann, H. Omont, L. Schiaparelli, and to my friends of the Sorbonne, E. Chatelain and C. Samaran. To W. A. Oldfather I am indebted for a splendid set of photographs of a valuable manuscript at Leningrad (No. 102). To these names I gladly add those of my friends and former pupils, F. M. Carey, whose summary catalogue of the *Codices Reginenses* brought to light more than one manuscript of Tours in the Vatican, L. W. Jones, who assisted me in describing a number of the manuscripts at Paris and at Tours, and C. M. S. Niver, who called my attention to a manuscript of exceeding importance (No. 143A). For information about neums I have applied,

and not in vain, to Dom B. Beyssac, O.S.B.; formerly my mentor was the lamented H. M. Bannister, friend of many an American student in Oxford and in Rome. I would also express my obligations both to my kindly colleague, A. K. Porter, and to my friends of Princeton University, C. R. Morey, A. M. Friend and E. T. DeWald, all of whom have on more than one occasion assisted me with their expert acquaintance with the illumination of mediaeval manuscripts. In this matter I owe a special debt to Wilhelm Köhler, who began his studies of the books of Tours at about the same time that I had turned to the subject. His volumes on *Karolingische Miniaturen*, succeeding the well-known work of Zimmermann on *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, will be of inestimable aid to students of palaeography, as well as of art. In the first volume, on the School of Tours, we shall see how a mediaeval book should be studied — illumination, art, text, script and all that is therein. The method employed in the well-known volume by various authors on the *Ada-handschrift* will be exhibited here in an extensive series of books — all the illuminated books of Tours. Professor Köhler turned over to me his ample list, compiled at first hand from the catalogues of manuscripts and from the manuscripts themselves. He has written me constantly on numerous points and held with me at Weimar in the summer of 1927, a memorable conference lasting several days, in which he put his photographs at my disposal, set forth many of his views, and cleared up many of the points on which I was in doubt. If details remain in which we disagree, they hardly can affect the general picture of the art and script of Tours that our different works will be found to contain.

With the list compiled from those of Delisle, Traube and Köhler, from the suggestions of the friends mentioned above and from my own researches, I have examined over three hundred manuscripts, most of them more than once, with considerable care. I have excluded something over seventy-five which seemed to me, after due deliberation, the work of another scriptorium, whether or not that scriptorium had felt the influence of Tours. Among the two hundred and thirty or so that remain, there are some doubtful cases, including about thirty manuscripts which I either know merely from photographs and descriptions or have not yet studied with the proper care. So far as I can

see, however, there is naught in their contents that would disturb the general outline set forth here.

I venture to publish at the present moment an account of the script of Tours, though not without serious misgivings. I should prefer to master the entire material first and to adjust my conclusions to those presented by Köhler in his forthcoming work. Indeed I had determined, influenced by his plans, to postpone any attempt to cover the whole history of the script of Tours and to devote my first volume merely to the earliest books in the series, taking as a model, however far from attaining its excellence, the work of Luigi Schiaparelli on Codex 490 of Lucca. I meant to treat with like care the Desnoyers Eugippius (No. 3 on my list) and the manuscript of the *Acta Concilii Ephesini* used by Baluze (No. 6), with some attention to the Ashburnham Pentateuch (No. 2) and the Marmoutier Prophets (No. 4). After completing an account of the first of these books and most of that of the second, I thought it well, after all, to include a brief and prefatory account of all the books of Tours, with illustrated plates, as a survey of the entire field of my researches and as a stimulus to further investigation by others, in case I could not continue it myself. This plan made it necessary to omit for the moment the description of No. 6, and then, as I found the material accumulating, that of No. 3 as well.

In this way, the book has perforce developed into what I had at first designed as a history of the script of Tours, save that it is far from being the history to which I had aspired. The material, as indicated, is not quite complete. Besides the books that I have had to neglect for the moment, there are others, I doubt not, that fresh discovery will add to the list. Certain books have been recently suggested to me by Beeson and Lowe, though I have thought best not to include them in the present account. It would be well for someone to examine Traube's material anew for further clues. I am also confident that systematic search, particularly among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale, would bring to light other lost treasures of Tours. On the other hand, there are surely some books on my list, though temporarily here retained, that should not be allowed a place amongst the acknowledged books of Tours. It is often a nice matter to decide. St. Martin or Marmoutier develops a style that acquires fame and

leads to imitation, — some imitated products are hard to tell from the original. Or again, a new style comes on in other centres, — was Tours itself hermetically sealed against influence from without? If we see a book in which there is something Franco-Saxon and something of Tours, must it always be a product of St. Denis, Corbie or Reims and never of Tours itself? I have preferred to err, sometimes knowingly, in including too much rather than too little, leaving a nice and final discrimination for another time or for other hands.

Further, many questions are still to be answered about the absolutely certain books of Tours. Unhappily, few of them are dated. We must guard against an endeavor to assume too logical a development in either script or art. One book is not necessarily later than another just because it is more elaborately illuminated. *Éditions de luxe* are possible in any period; so are rough-and-ready editions, pocket-copies, and books hastily done because the original was loaned for a limited time. We must also bear in mind the constant tendency to imitate earlier manners, whether in art or in script. The scribes of Tours had achieved an admirable style, of which they were proud. Even in certain books of the eleventh and twelfth centuries it is clear that they were consciously upholding, whatever the innovations brought by time, the great traditions of the Carolingian age. Again, the copying of an ancient manuscript might account, let us say, for the use of certain abbreviations or certain ornamental designs, at a date when these were no longer in vogue. Or, as is obvious in other schools besides Tours, a whole group of writers might indulge in an archaistic style, though that might not be the only style cultivated in the monastery at the time.

Although these pitfalls are always ready for our unwariness, — and I have rescued myself from a number of them as these studies have advanced, — I think it is safe to say that any uncertainty with regard to the date of the books of Tours written at the end of the eighth and during the ninth century is restricted to a period of well within fifty years. Though we may not be sure whether a book was written just before or just after Alcuin, we can be sure, I believe, that it was not done at the end of the abbacy of Fridugisus. Similarly we may doubt whether to assign a book, particularly if it is ruled in what I call the

"Old Style," to the Mid-century or to the years just before or just after that period; but we can be positive that it was not done before 820 or after 870. Take the case of the Bible of Bamberg (No. 47). Was it begun under Alcuin, as not a few palaeographers are inclined to believe, or must we relegate it to a later date, about 830, as Köhler, reasoning from the character of its art would conclude? Whatever be the ultimate answer, at least we can say now, considering merely the evidence of the script, that this book and others of its character could not have been written either before Alcuin's coming or in the flush of the Mid-century. It contains too much of what is late for the earlier date and too much of what is early for the later. In setting the limits for its appearance as 800 and 830, we leave room for both views, between which only a most minute examination of both script and illumination can decide.

It is to be hoped that renewed study, especially of the different hands in the manuscripts of the end of the eighth and the first half of the ninth century, will allow us to be more precise about many of these unsolved problems. I have made certain suggestions here and there, but the ground has hardly been touched. I intend at least to pave the way for such studies by a volume to be published in the near future on the earliest books of Tours.

The description of the different books is by no means so complete as my material permitted. On gatherings, signatures, script, abbreviations, punctuation, I have in most cases contented myself with general accounts, as will be explained below. On the number of leaves ruled at a time, the statements are based on a thorough examination of each book and truly describe its general condition. I have refrained on principle from discussing the text, especially that of the Alcuin's edition of the Vulgate Bible. Even after the great recension in charge of the Pontifical Commission is completed, the Alcuinian text must be studied from the ground up, in the hope of approaching a chronology of its representatives. An initial study was made by Berger and one based on a much better principle will be available in Köhler's work, which includes and extends the results reached by Corssen in the volume on the *Ada-handschrift*. Even then there will be need of further elaboration. Meanwhile, after due reflection, I have thought best to

do nothing with this matter save to intersperse a few casual remarks, preferring to abide by palaeographical judgments, even though they should be corrected by subsequent studies of the text. Such studies are demanded not only in the case of the Bible, but, to cite merely one instance, that of the works included in the "Martinellus." In the matter of illumination I have, rather audaciously in view of Köhler's volume, included a few items, merely to give a general idea of the character of some of the books. Finally, it is no part of these summary descriptions to include a complete bibliography of each and every manuscript, although enough information has been given, I hope, to guide the reader to the most important discussions of a book, and to the facsimiles available elsewhere. In a word, the present volume, while showing the main outlines in the script of Tours, does not attempt that history itself but has merely assembled "mémoires pour servir." The reader should also be informed that my manuscript was ready for the press in May 1928. With a handful of exceptions, — notably the account of No. 143A, — no changes have been introduced since that time. The book should therefore be judged as a work of 1928 rather than of the present time.

It remains for me in conclusion, to express my thanks, however inadequately, not only to the friends already mentioned but to the many librarians in this country and abroad who have opened their treasures with the utmost courtesy and helpfulness. In England, I am indebted to F. Maddan, A. Cowley and H. H. E. Craster of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, to J. P. Gilson, J. A. Herbert, E. G. Millar and R. Flower of the British Museum, to the owners of those splendid private libraries, Henry Y. Thompson and A. Chester Beatty in London and to Lord Leicester and his kindly librarian, C. W. James, at Holkham Hall; in Germany, to H. Fischer of Bamberg, to Domprobst D. Middendorf and Dr. Lohmann of the Cathedral Library and K. Löffler, J. Thiele and H. Thomann of the University Library at Cologne, to the late F. Boll and G. Leidinger of Munich, the latter of whom kindly arranged for the sending to Munich of manuscripts from Berlin, Reims, St. Gall, Stuttgart, Quedlinburg and Wolfenbüttel; in Austria, to my dear friend the late lamented R. Beer of the National Library of Vienna; in Holland, to S. de Vries and V. F.

Bröckner of the University Library; in Switzerland, to the former librarians at Berne and Zürich and to A. Fäh of St. Gall; in Italy, to Monsignor P. Rossi and Canon D. Luigi Brambilla of the Cathedral Library at Monza, to E. Rostagno of the Medico-Laurentian Library in Florence, to Dom Ildefonso Schuster, O.S.B., Abbot, and Dom Lorenzo Binazzi, Librarian, of San Paolo fuori le Mura, to M. Pecorini-Manzoni of the Biblioteca Vallicellana, to that true friend and counsellor, his Eminence Cardinal Ehrle, once prefect of the Vatican, to his distinguished successor Monsignor A. Ratti, now His Holiness Pius XI, and to the present prefect, able supporter of an illustrious tradition, Monsignor G. Mercati; in France, where most of the books of Tours are to be found, to Henri Omont, to whom I gratefully dedicate this book, and whom, with his associates at the Bibliothèque Nationale, particularly L. Auvray and Ph. Lauer, I thank for many a helpful courtesy during the last thirty years. Outside Paris I have found unfailing cordiality from the Librarians of Angers (M. Saché), Autun (A. Gillot), Boulogne (F. Cresson), Cambrai (G. Leboyer), Chartres (C. Huisson, and particularly the Abbé Yves Delaporte), Dijon, Archives Générales (P. Claudon), Bibliothèque Publique (C. Oursel), Grenoble (L. Royer), Laon (A. Ducloux), Le Mans (M. L'Hermitte), Lyons (H. Joly), Nancy, Bibliothèque de la Ville (C. Peleurin, and especially C. Charbonnier, Architecte du Département et des Monuments Historiques), Reims (H. Loriquet), Troyes (C. Morel-Payen), Valenciennes (M. Lecat). I will mention last, *honoris causa*, Tours itself, where my studies in manuscripts were begun in 1898, with kindly aid from G. Collon, *père*, and where his able successor, G. Collon, *fils*, has shown me every attention in more recent years.

One establishment in our own country, the Pierpont Morgan Library of New York City, possesses among its manifold treasures an important book of Tours (No. 35) and one, the Golden Gospels of Henry VIII, which, if not of Tours, is at least of French, not British, make. I owe a very special debt of gratitude to Mr. Morgan and to his energetic librarian, Miss Belle da Costa Greene, not only for many hospitalities extended to me at this library, but also for the generous award of a fund from which most of my photographs of manuscripts of Tours have been purchased. The cost of the remainder was covered by

Preface

an appropriation from the Humanities Fund contributed to Harvard University by the Rockefeller General Education Board. Without these photographs, a comparative study of the different books and many of the conclusions to which this study has led me would have been impossible. The expense of preparing the volume of text for the press was also met from my liberal share of the Rockefeller Humanities Fund. The task of transmuting my own script into legibility was skilfully performed by the Harvard Service Bureau, particularly by its efficient chief, Miss G. H. McCafferty, and her capable assistants, Miss E. Smith and Mrs. R. J. Barker. The volume of plates was under the supervision of F. Warde, who devoted much time and thought to securing the best possible methods of reproduction. The general index and that of authors and works are the work of B. M. Peebles of the Harvard Graduate School; he also corrected a goodly number of erroneous references in my text and gave the proof a lyncean scrutiny with happy results.

I am proud to have this work appear under the auspices of the Mediaeval Academy of America and hope that it augurs a long series of publications devoted to the script and the illumination of mediaeval manuscripts. I appreciate the indefatigable services of the Executive Secretary of the Academy, J. Marshall, who with A. K. Wilson of the Harvard University Press solved many a problem in the printing of the book and devised the prospectus announcing its appearance. Above all I am grateful to John Nicholas Brown, treasurer of the Mediaeval Academy and its loyal stay, without whose generosity this summary history of the script of Tours might still be seeking a publisher.

Finally, the best of my thanks is due to my wife, partner of my plans and spur to my endeavors. In the summer of 1925 she spent long hours at my side in the libraries of Paris, Tours and London, performing with skill and perseverance the often difficult task of determining gatherings of manuscripts and describing many other of their features — facts that I could not otherwise have amassed in the time at my disposal. To her energy, good counsel and good cheer, I owe much of whatever good these volumes may contain.

E. K. RAND

Cambridge, Massachusetts
June 1, 1929

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Abbreviations

(of books most frequently cited)

Ada-handschrift.

Ada-handschrift, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Menzel, P. Corssen, H. Janitschek, A. Schnütgen, F. Hettner, K. Lamprecht (*Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde*), Leipzig, 1889.

Bannister, *Mon. Vat. Pal. Mus. Lat.*

H. M. Bannister, *Monumenti Vaticani di Paleografia Musicale Latina* (*Codices e Vaticanis Selecti Photypice Expressi iussu Pii PP. X*, Vol. XII), Leipzig, 1913.

Berger.

S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1893.

Boinet.

A. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne, ses Origines, son Développement*, Paris, 1913.

Bosseboeuf.

Abbé L. A. Bosseboeuf, *École de Calligraphie et de Miniature de Tours* (*Les Arts en Touraine*), Tours, 1891.

Cat. Anc. MSS.

Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum, Part II, Latin. Ed. E. M. Thompson and G. F. Warner, London, 1884.

Catalogue Collon.

Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France. Départements. Vol. XXXVII, 1, 2, par G. Collon, 1890.

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E. Chatelain, *Introduction à la lecture des Notes Tironiennes*, Paris, 1900.

—— *Uncialis Scriptura.*

—— *Uncialis Scriptura Codicum Latinorum novis exemplis illustrata*, Paris, 1901.

—— *Pal. Class. Lat.*

—— *Paléographie des Classiques Latins*, Paris, 1884–1900.

Chroust, *Mon. Pal.*

A. Chroust, *Monumenta Palaeographica* (*Denkmäler der Schreibkunst des Mittelalters*), Munich, 1906 — (in progress).

Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits.*

L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale.* Vols. I–III and IV (plates), Paris, 1868–1881.

—— *Catalogue Desnoyers.*

—— *Collections de M. Jules Desnoyers. Catalogue des Manuscrits Anciens et des Chartes*, Paris, 1888.

Abbreviations

Delisle, *École Calligraphique.*

L. Delisle, *Mémoire sur l'École Calligraphique de Tours au IX^e Siècle* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XXXII, 1, 29–56), 1885.

—— *Fonds Libri.*

—— *Catalogue des Manuscrits des Fonds Libri et Barrois*, Paris, 1888.

—— *Manuscrits disparus.*

—— *Notice sur les Manuscrits disparus de la Bibliothèque de Tours pendant la la première moitié du XIX^e Siècle* (*Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, XXXI, 1), 1883. In the citations of this work, the numbers given first refer to the pages of the off-print (1–200); those which follow in parentheses refer to the pages in the volume of *Notices et Extraits* (157–356).

—— *Mémoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires.*

—— *Mémoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires* (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des Belles Lettres*, XXXII, 1, 130–142), 1886.

Gallia Christiana.

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Gwynn, *The Book of Armagh.*

J. Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus. The Book of Armagh, edited . . . for the Royal Irish Academy*, London, 1913.

Kenyon, *Facsimiles.*

F. Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1900.

Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*

W. Köhler, "Turonische Handschriften aus der Zeit Alcuins," *Mittelalterliche Handschriften. Paläographische, kunsthistorische, literarische und bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe sum 60ten Geburtstage von Hermann Degering*, Leipzig, 1926.

Brief descriptions of most of the manuscripts on Köhler's list will be found in *Erster Bericht über die Arbeiten an den Denkmälern deutscher Kunst* (*Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft*, Berlin). *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen*, 1911, pp. 38 ff., 1912, pp. 52 ff.

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P. Lauer, "La Réforme Carolingienne de l'Écriture Latine et l'École Calligraphique de Corbie," *Mémoires présentés par divers Savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XIII (1924), 1–24 (Pls. VII–X).

Leroquais, *Sacramentaires.*

Abbé V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, Vols. I–III and IV (plates), Paris, 1924.

Liebaert Collection.

Liebaert Collection of Facsimiles. 1922. The numbers cited first are those in the list issued by the Vatican Library, in type-written form; those added thereto are from the printed list previously prepared by Lindsay.

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Mon. Pal. Vind.
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Neues Archiv.
Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde.

Nouveau Traité.
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Palae. Lat. V.
E. K. Rand, "How many Leaves at a Time?" *Palaeographia Latina*, V (1927), 52–78.

Quentin, *Mémoire.*
Dom H. Quentin. *Mémoire sur l'Establissement du Texte de la Vulgate* (*Collectanea Biblica Latina*, VI), Rome and Paris, 1922.

—— *Genesis.*
—— *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem . . . iussu Pii PP. XI cura et studio monachorum Sancti Benedicti . . . edita.* Vol. I (1926), *Genesis.*

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PART A

On the History of the Script of Tours

CHAPTER I

A Brief Account of the Libraries at Tours

THE early history of St. Martin's and the other religious establishments of Tours as centres of activity in the production of books is wrapped in obscurity. No mention is made in the records that have come down to us of any abbot before Alcuin's time who stimulated the art of his scribes or who enriched the library with collections of books. At the abbey of Marmoutier, at the collegiate church of St. Martin, and perhaps at the cathedral of St. Maurice (later St. Gatian) some sort of writing was doubtless practised from the time of their foundation. We may make inferences, naturally enough, from the liturgical, scholarly, and artistic interests of St. Perpetuus in the fifth century and St. Gregory in the sixth,[1] but no historian has left us a word about the number, variety, or character of the products of the different schools of Tours. Alcuin's immediate predecessors at St. Martin's, Itherius (*ca.* 774), a man of great learning, and Wulfardus, abbot in 765, who had journeyed with Alcuin on his mission to Pope Hadrian I in Rome, may well have encouraged the writing of the books. However, this fact has not been recorded.[2]

It is not until the time of Alcuin himself that we reach *terra firma*. During his régime, the scriptoria of Tours, particularly that of St. Martin's, sprang into a notable fame and maintained it till somewhat after the middle of the century. Hundreds of books must have been written in that period. Some of them are still kept in the place of their origin, some were presented to nobles and kings or to other monasteries, some have strayed to other libraries in modern times, and some, indeed many, must have been lost or were suffered to fall into decay. No mediaeval lists of the books of Tours have come down

1. Bosseboeuf, pp. 12 ff.; Traube, *Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen*, II, 127.
2. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 160.

to us, like those of Fleury, Cluny or Corbie,[1] but we may, at any rate, note the existence of a librarian, probably in the twelfth century, who provided at least some of his books with press-marks; the note *iste liber est de armario beati Martini Turonensis* appears in a few of the manuscripts of Tours extant today.[2] There are likewise two press-marks of the fifteenth century.[3]

The first great dispersion of the books of Tours, so far as we know, occurred as a result of the religious wars of the sixteenth century. In 1562, the Huguenots burned most of the bones of St. Martin and doubtless a number of his manuscripts.[4] When they likewise sacked the monastery of Fleury in the same year, its library possessed certain books written at Tours which were rescued by Pierre Daniel, through him passed to certain private collectors, then were absorbed by municipal libraries and today are found in Leyden, Berne, Rome, and other places.[5] In the following century, the activities of that eminently acquisitive librarian Étienne Baluze resulted in many accessions to the library of Colbert and these are now to be found at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; at one time he had hopes of securing the entire collection of St. Gatian. A list of the important manuscripts at St. Martin's and St. Gatian's drawn up for Baluze by his agent Du Molinet is preserved in a manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale.[6] Ten other lists, two of the seventeenth and the rest of the eighteenth century, are extant, amply described by Delisle[7] and, with additions and corrections, by Collon.[8] Of especial value are the notes of Bréquigny made in 1754, which contain exact bibliographical descriptions made by a competent hand.[9] At that time, the collections of Tours

1. No catalogues of Tours are recorded by G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui*, Bonn, 1885; T. Gottlieb, *Ueber mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, Leipzig, 1890; or Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*.

2. See Nos. 26, 67, 83, 157. A Merovingian press-mark appears in No. 7 and one of the ninth century, if MAR does stand for MARTINI, in No. 164.

3. See Nos. 91 and 140. One in No. 26 seems somewhat earlier, perhaps of the thirteenth century.

4. See Le Chanoine Bataille et le Chanoine Vaucelle, *Saint-Martin* (*Les Grands Pèlerinages de France*, Paris, 1925), p. 90.

5. On the dispersion of the books of Fleury, see Traube, *Vorlesungen*, III, 12 ff., with note by S. Brandt; F. M. Carey, "The Vatican Fragment of Phaedrus," *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, LVII (1926), 97.

6. B. N. lat. 9363, foll. 200 ff. See Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, 459 ff.

7. *Manuscrits Disparus*, pp. 5 (161) ff. 8. *Catalogue*, II, 1055 ff.

9. In Vols. XXXIV and XXXV of his *Papers*, preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

were housed and preserved in a most slovenly fashion. In the early years of the eighteenth century, so we learn from Bréquigny, whole cartloads of the manuscripts of St. Martin's had to be thrown into the Loire on account of their mildewed condition. Bréquigny did his best in 1758 to have the entire collection transferred to the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris, but after fruitless negotiations with the canons, the plan was dropped.[1] Would that he had succeeded! Again in 1781, the Marquis of Paulmy almost succeeded in securing the books of St. Gatian's for the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal; he failed, it would seem, merely because the sum proposed was not acceptable to the canons of the Cathedral.[2]

Then came the Revolution. In the early nineteenth century, the library incurred a series of petty sellings and pilferings and, finally, robbery in the grand style at the hands of Libri. The words *Nouvelles Acquisitions* prefixed to a number of books of Tours, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale, indicate a little drama of hair-breadth escapes, in which the part of the villain was ably sustained by that eminent thief and the part of the hero still more ably by Léopold Delisle.

I will not spoil the story, which the reader, if he cares for exciting narrative, will find inimitably told by Delisle himself, especially in the introduction to his *Fonds Libri et Barrois*. I wish merely to repeat a few of the details important for our present purpose.

Guilielmo Bruto Timoleonte Libri-Carrucci, born in Florence in 1803, came to Paris in 1850, where he had a distinguished career as mathematician, scientist, bibliographer and palaeographer. He was a person of undoubted genius and no little charm. He numbered men like Guizot and Prosper Mérimée among his friends — friends who became his defenders after his disgrace. He had been interested in ancient books and had the instincts of a collector, although, remarks Delisle, he was not "un vraie bibliophile mais un vulgaire brocanteur." As Secretary of a Commission appointed by the Minister of Instruction in 1841 to prepare a catalogue of the manuscripts in the provincial libraries, he examined the collections in various cities, and appro-

1. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, I, 462.
2. H. Omont, "Les Manuscrits de la Cathédrale de Tours et le Marquis de Paulmy," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LXXVII (1916), 520.

priated for himself, by a variety of clever devices, an excellent assemblage of precious manuscripts and printed books, which he disguised by misleading descriptions in his catalogues of sale, and by the addition of fictitious press-marks. He chose the names of Italian monasteries for the purpose, — there was at least something patriotic in these forgeries, — and had an expert penman write in on the last leaf of a book, or elsewhere, *Est Sancti Petri de Perusio* (to which a pious *Laus Deo* might be added), or *Liber abbatiae Sanctae Mariae de Florentia*, or *Iste liber est conventus Sancti Dominici de Mantua*. He must have taken a particular delight in adding to one of these mendacious entries, *si quis eum* (that is, *librum*) *abstulerit, anathema sit. Fiat, fiat* —being, I suppose, the only thief in history who wrote his own anathema.[1] After the volumes were thus refurbished, he had them encased in a special binding of wooden covers with a leather back, the work of a certain Angiolo Mugnaini. This was to lend a plausibly Italian appearance to the books — the covers are certainly ugly enough not to suggest anything French.

After diverse other attempts, Libri sold his collection to Lord Ashburnham through his agent, the bookseller Rodd, in 1847. A cloud of suspicion had gathered about him, and he found it best to flee the country for England, closely followed by eighteen chests of books. With the history of his condemnation, of the hot debates over his case, of his final retreat from England and of his wretched ending at Fiesole, where he died in 1869, we are not concerned. Nor need we examine the clever detection of the fraud by Delisle or of the latter's heroic attempts to get back the stolen books, which after disheartening frustrations he ransomed for the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1888. Italy had recovered its share of *codices Ashburnhamiani* in 1884, which are now to be found in the Laurentian Library in Florence.

It is no wonder, then, that after their varied mishaps and migrations many of the manuscripts of Tours are found today — to mention only a few cases — in libraries as widely separated as Oxford, the British Museum, the Hague, Leyden, Berlin, Quedlinburg, Florence, Paris and Rome, and that some are gone forever. The books that are known to have strayed from Tours number at least three hundred, of

1. For facsimiles of the fictitious press-marks, see Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, Plate VII.

which some two hundred are probably beyond recovery. From certain indications, as will appear in the course of these studies, I am convinced that renewed research, especially in Paris, will bring some of these lost treasures to light.

Of course, not all the books written at Tours are included in the available lists, nor, on the other hand, are all those now at Tours today or all those known once to have been there to be reckoned among the products of the scriptoria of that place. Even a press-mark of the twelfth century may have been written in a manuscript presented or given in exchange by some other monastery. We may be inclined to assume, in default of evidence to the contrary, that a book labelled St. Martin's was written there. In a few books, like the Vivian Bible (No. 116), the circumstances of the writing are described in an appended poem or subscription. In almost all cases, however, we must depend on internal evidence — the character of the ornamentation and the script.

CHAPTER II

Characteristics of the Script of Tours and its Importance in the General History of Script

AS DELISLE AND TRAUBE made clear, a prominent feature of the script of Tours is the frequent use of semiuncial, not for entire texts,[1] but for headings or introductory sections as part of the decorative hierarchy of scripts at the beginning of a work or an important subdivision of it.[2] This is indeed a feature, but not the essence, I believe, of the fully developed script, or what I call the Regular Style, of Tours. This is characterized primarily, as we shall see, by the effort to distinguish the different varieties of script — capitals, uncials, semiuncials, and minuscules — and, in the spirit of the Carolingian Renaissance, to return to antiquity for the models. In the minuscule, for which no model existed, the effort was made to produce a clear, round hand, from which cursive elements were banished. The result is at least worthy of the ancients; it is a creation that deserves the name of Classic.

Yet there is also one among the books examined by Delisle[3] — the Leyden Nonius (No. 26) — in which, though the script shows the usual elegance, the majuscules are mixed, the semiuncials are rather fantastically decorated, and the minuscules abound in cursive traits, deliberately retained and embellished. Such a script, to which, with the sort of illumination that accompanies it, I have given the name of Embellished Merovingian, represents the tendency apparent in most of the scriptoria of France at the time. The aim was to make letters clearly and gracefully, to exclude the wilder sort of cursive traits but

1. Exceptions, in which it is used for a text other than an introduction, are No. 113 (Leyden, lat. 1685) and No. 181 (Treves, 31).

2. See Preface, p. vii; Traube, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 268: "die Halb-Unciale, das Charakteristicum (man könnte ohne Uebertreibung sagen: die Fabrikmarke) der Turonischen Schreiber."

3. *École Calligraphique*, pp. 15, 23.

to keep some of them and make them clear and ornamental — in short, to improve not to reject what was at hand. The Regular Style, on the contrary, involves a break with the present and a revival of the past. But it is no second-hand copy of the past. The restored majuscules and semiuncials are often more beautiful than those of antiquity, and the minuscule is virtually a new creation. All in all, this Regular Style of Tours is the most noteworthy product of the Carolingian Renaissance — more original and more truly ancient than its literature, its philosophy, or its other varieties of art.

The monks of Tours did not invent writing. Tours in the eighth century was decidedly inferior to Corbie, Luxeuil, and Fleury in the art of illumination. In general, it also lagged behind in its script, although a minute study of the earliest books will put this matter in a somewhat different light. At the end of the eighth century and the beginning of the ninth, Tours, and particularly St. Martin's, shot ahead of the rest and wrought out the great innovation of the Regular Style. This in its "Perfected" form, achieved about 820, was for its simplicity, easy grace, and sheer beauty, easily queen among the scripts of France.

The script that ultimately prevailed in Europe, that Caroline hand which won its way over the Insular, the Italian, and the Spanish hands, ultimately sanctioned a few of the ligatures, particularly *st*, barred out from the Regular Style of Tours. It represents a compromise between this latter style and the general tendencies of the age. Within the larger Caroline field, the Regular Style pursued its course, leading to interesting and beautiful adaptations — to which I would apply the name "Martinian" — at St. Denis and other Franco-Saxon centres in the north. Then it appears across the Rhine at Reichenau and St. Gall, and surmounting the Alps it is found at Bobbio. The history of this *imperium in imperio* has yet to be told.

After the reign of Gothic script, another Renaissance brought back the Caroline hand, which survives on our printed page today. The Italian humanists imagined, I take it, that they were reviving the glories of their own past, unaware that they were merely repeating the achievements of the barbarians of France in a remote period of the Dark and Middle Ages.

CHAPTER III

Details in the Description of the Books of Tours: Dimensions, Ruling, Gatherings, Signatures, Abbreviations, and Punctuation

BEFORE giving an account of the different periods into which the history of the script of Tours may be divided, I will explain certain peculiarities in my account of the different manuscripts, and in so doing, discuss various features of the Script as a whole.

(*A*) DIMENSIONS

The dimensions are given in millimeters, first for the size of the book, then for the script-space. If there are more than one column, the figures apply to each column. Thus the first item in No. 4 states the number of leaves, 209; the next, 310 × 240, gives the size of the book; the third indicates that each of the two columns is 257 × 65. In determining the dimensions, I have borne in mind previous estimates, very often taking the average of my own measurements and those previously given. Slight deviations are of no moment, particularly when they concern the present size of a book, which may have lost much of its original margins. Curiously, it is rarely the practice of palaeographers to give the dimensions of the script-space, which does represent the original conditions and which can be of importance in determining whether two parts of a modern volume were originally two different manuscripts. It is often the case that columns are of different widths though practically of the same height. In such cases, I have generally given an average width, unless the widths differ noticeably, in which case I have stated both. When the number of lines varies in different parts of a manuscript, the regular number is given first, the exceptional number, or numbers, in parentheses. If various numbers appear with no special preponderance of any of them, no parentheses are used.

I have not included in these summary descriptions any mention of the small side-columns intended for initials or the larger ones in which, in the case of Gospel-books, references to the canons and sections were placed. It may be taken for granted that these were a permanent feature of the more sumptuous books. Nor have I noticed lines drawn at the tops of pages for the running titles. This is an important matter for observation in ancient books [1] but of no special moment so far as Tours is concerned. It may again be assumed that the more elaborate books always had them. Of course, the cutting-off of the top margin may often have removed such titles.

The exact statement of the dimensions will help the user of this book, in certain cases, to control the reductions of photographs in the plates. On the necessity of making palaeographical facsimiles of exactly the size of the original, strong words have been uttered by Dom Wilmart [2] but not stronger than those that I would apply to certain photographers who disobeyed my injunction in this regard. For the purpose of the present volume, no great harm has been done, but no scientific study of the script of Tours in the later centuries should be based on my plates of the manuscripts now at Tours.

(*B*) RULING

In an article in Lindsay's *Palaeographia Latina*,[3] I explained the difference between two methods of ruling which I called O. S. (Old Style) and N. S. (New Style). I briefly described the manuscripts of Tours, which are known to be at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and which from their number and diversity ought to be typical of the development of the script of Tours in general. On the basis of their evidence, I concluded that the New Style came in about 820–835. Its presence, or absence, is therefore an important element in the dating of books of the ninth century. The rest of the books of Tours, so far as I was able to examine them, confirm the results already attained. Some thirty remain,[4] about which fuller information is needed. We

1. See E. A. Lowe, *Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 26 f.
2. *La Vie et les Arts Liturgiques*, No. 131 (1925), 19, n.
3. V (1927), 52–78. For reviews, see W. Weinberger, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1928, pp. 214 f.; Charles Samaran, *Revue de Philologie*, CIV (1928), 297 f.
4. See Preface, p. ix.

also need an examination of the practice in other scriptoria. It would appear, for instance, that at St. Denis — if it was there that the Second Bible of Charles the Bald was written — the Old Style was still the favorite, even for *éditions de luxe*.[1]

Briefly to recapitulate, the method of ruling (O. S.) in vogue at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century was as follows. First, a scribe would take four or two leaves, depending on their size and thickness (the former being quite as important a consideration as the latter) and arrange them in accordance with the rule that bears Gregory's name (I call it Rule I), so that the hair-side of the leaf confronted the hair-side and the flesh-side confronted flesh-side. The hair-side generally stood on the outside of a gathering, apparently to protect it. This rule (Rule II) was only rarely observed in ancient books,[2] possibly because it was taken for granted that the outer flesh-sides of the first and last gatherings would be protected by fly-leaves. In the earliest books of Tours, there are frequent exceptions to both rules. By the end of the eighth century and throughout most of the ninth, both are religiously observed. Some exceptions occur, either forced by necessity or occasioned by the fact that in the most elaborate books [3] the parchment was so exquisitely prepared that the difference between hair-side and flesh-side is negligible.

Let me present the facts as graphically as possible to the reader's eye. The leaves of a gathering are before us, arranged by the scribe in accordance with rules I and II — that is, with a hair-surface uppermost, to take the ruling; the upper-surface of the under-leaf is its flesh-side, confronting the flesh-side of the upper leaf. The flesh-side of the upper leaf will show a set of convex lines, or ridges; but the flesh-side of the under-leaf a set of concave lines or grooves. If four leaves are thus ruled at a time we shall call the ruling 4 O. S.; if two are so ruled, it will be 2 O. S. If both combinations occur in the manuscript, the

1. Besides the Second Bible of Charles the Bald (B. N. lat. 2), this Old Style is found in B. N. lat. 257 and Lyons 431, both of them elaborate monuments of the Franco-Saxon art. In the one Visigothic book the ruling of which I examined (Tours, 615, *saec.* X), the ruling is O. S. on the inner leaf. Someone should collect information about the ruling of books in scriptoria other than Tours.

2. See Lowe, in Lowe and Rand, *A Sixth-Century Fragment of the Letters of Pliny the Younger* (New York, 1922), p. 4, n. 2.

3. See the descriptions of the Gospels of Lothaire (No. 119) and the Du Fay Gospels (No. 121).

ruling will be 4 (2) O. S., or 2 (4) O. S., according to the frequency of 2 or 4. The diagram (Figure 1) shows the arrangement 4 O.S., the dotted leaves representing hair-sides and the plain leaves flesh-sides.

To discover today, therefore, a manuscript ruled O. S., we have merely to ask, does convex (ridge) confront concave (groove) on the flesh-sides? If so, we then note on what hair-side the primary ruling is placed, and how many leaves — two, three, four (perhaps five!) — were ruled at a time. This we can tell from the correspondences in the ruling. One column line may run farther up or down than another, or some of the text-lines may go a bit over the column-line or not quite up to it. Such inequalities were not regarded as defects even in the best books of the first half of the ninth century. At the end of the century, and particularly in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the column lines were carried to the extreme top and bottom margins, — at least this is true of manuscripts in their present size, — and the text lines were more exactly ended. In such books, correspondences are hard to find; but the necessary clues are present in most books of Tours of the first three quarters of the ninth century. Sometimes real imperfections may be noted, such as in the slant of lines. These furnish clear evidence for detecting correspondences in the ruling. If such do not exist, that means that the leaves in question had not been ruled together but were drawn at random from a pile.

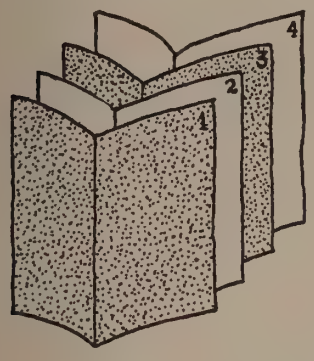

FIGURE 1

In the New Style, — a most important invention, — the leaves were never ruled four but always two at a time. They were laid for ruling *not* as in O. S., but with one leaf, hair-side up, placed on the hair-side, not the flesh-side, of the under-leaf. This disposition secured a plainer ruling on the final flesh-side, and, moreover, when the leaves were reassembled, ridges always confronted ridges on adjoining flesh-sides — an arrangement more pleasing to the eye than that of O. S.

In determining, therefore, whether a book is ruled N. S., we look first at the flesh-sides. If on them ridges regularly confront ridges, the book is probably N. S. Of course, this situation would exist if each

hair-side were ruled separately. However, it is always, or almost always, possible to distinguish primary from secondary rulings in a book of any considerable size. The first are clear and firm; the latter are fainter and indicate that the pressure had come not directly from the ruler but through an intervening leaf. If, then, we find a number of such secondary rulings, the leaves on which they appear must have been ruled under other leaves, that is, the ruling is two at a time in the New Style (2 N. S.). Further, it often happens in N. S. as in O. S. books that we can detect correspondences in ruling among the leaves of a particular gathering.

To make clear the possibility for correspondences in N. S., let us say that leaf 1 and leaf 2, leaf 3 and leaf 4 are ruled together, 1 on 2 and 3 on 4, according to N. S. (Figure 2).

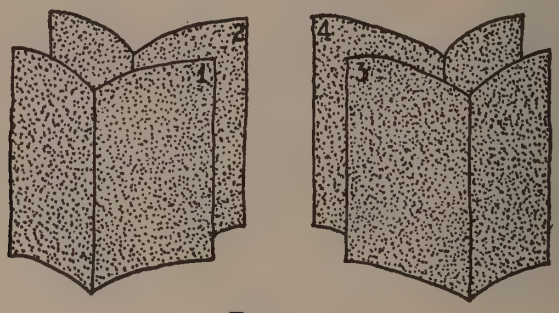

FIGURE 2

After the ruling, leaf 1, of which the hair-side had been up, is now laid with the hair-side down, and leaf 2, which likewise had been hair-side up, is laid with the flesh-side on the flesh-side of leaf 1 (Figure 3).

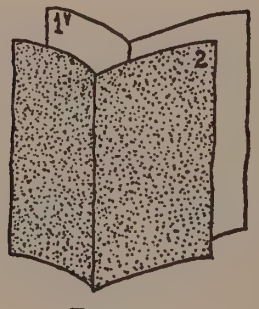

FIGURE 3

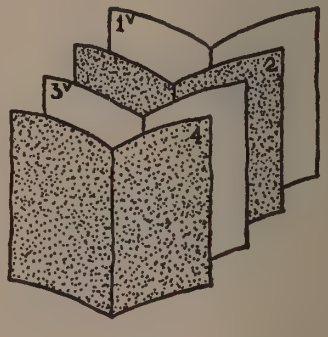

FIGURE 4

Then leaves 3 and 4 are taken in turn and added to the gathering in accordance with Rule I (Figure 4).

If now we designate the eight leaves of the newly formed gathering by letters A–H (Figure 5), it is obvious that correspondence will be found between A and G, since A (formerly 1) was ruled on G (formerly 2). If it happened, however, in assembling the leaves of the new gathering after ruling, that after leaf 1 had been laid down, not leaf 2 but leaf 3 or leaf 4, or both, had been laid on top of it before leaf 2 was taken, the correspondences would exist between A and either C or E; Figure 6 illustrates this last arrangement. All these possibilities should be examined to find whether A corresponds to another leaf in the gathering, and after the case of leaves 1 and 2 is thus settled, that of leaves 3 and 4 remains. As a matter of practice, it is easy to determine whether A can be matched with C, E, or (the most frequent case) with G.

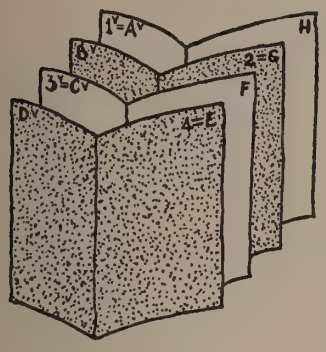

Figure 5

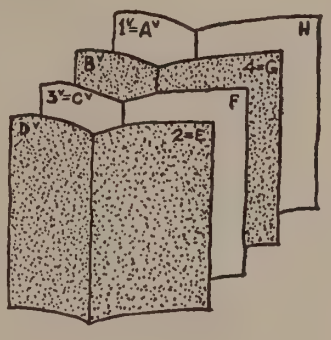

Figure 6

After my statement about this matter in *Palae. Lat.*, V, 70, I reëxamined some of the Paris books and found all the possible arrangements well represented, e.g., in B.N. lat. 3 (No. 80). It is not, as I said, that a "new principle" had come in when B.N. lat. 47 (No. 117) was written. The most frequent method — at least my more recent studies so suggest — was that which I called the best, namely, the arrangement in which the ruled leaves were assembled in the order 1, 2, 3, 4.

Failing correspondences, we may conclude that a special scribe did the ruling, and that he prepared a pile from which the writers drew at random according to their needs, whether they were working in the same book or on different books.

Therefore, to repeat, one can discover the presence of N. S. ruling by noting

(1) that ridges confront ridges on the flesh-side;

(2) that some secondary rulings are evident;

(3) that correspondences in ruling exist in certain gatherings.

The first fact is in nearly all cases sufficient to prove N. S. in a manuscript of the ninth century, seeing that the separate ruling of leaves is exceedingly rare at that time. The second fact clinches the proof. The third makes it still more evident. In case plain clues for correspondence exist and yet in any given gathering correspondences cannot be found, we may confidently conclude that there was at least some random selection of the leaves from a pile.

A third variety of ruling was indicated in the manuscripts of Paris. It is O. S., save that the first four half-leaves were ruled on the outer leaf of the gathering, the last four on the inner leaf. I raised the question whether this "outside-inside" method was a feature of Insular practice — a surmise somewhat confirmed by my later researches. But this matter needs further examination.[1]

It would appear in the light of the manuscripts of Tours outside Paris that the date of the introduction of N. S. is nearer to 820 than to 835.[2] That is a transitional epoch in other matters besides the manner of ruling.[3]

One caution should be added, especially in the case of transitional books, namely that the presence of a *few* quires apparently N. S. is not positive proof that the principle was recognized at the time. For the practice of ruling a pile, and of random selection from that pile, obtained under O. S. as well as under N. S.[4] Suppose that a scribe takes the top sheet from two that have been ruled O. S., while a fellow workman takes the under sheet. For his next sheet, the first scribe takes the top one of the next set, which, like his first, would have convex lines on the flesh-side. In four leaves of his gathering, therefore, convex lines would confront convex on the flesh side, not by design but by accident. The same thing might happen in the case of the other two sheets, and the whole gathering would be apparently N. S. But correspondences would not be found. Correspondence could exist accidentally, in case a scribe, ruling O. S., had neglected to observe Rule I, in arranging the leaves for ruling. He would have thus by an

1. See *Palae. Lat.*, V, 57, and below on Nos. 8, 10, 143, 148, 155, 160, 200. I have also found the "outside-inside" method in a book of Mayence (Vat. Pal. lat. 845), *Martinellus*, written in a Continental variety of the Insular hand; see Lindsay, *Palae. Lat.* IV (1925), 19 f.
2. See on Nos. 70, 78, 81. 3. See below, pp. 54 f.
4. See on Nos. 3, 6, 9, 16, 17, 47, 50, 57, 61.

oversight put them in the position required for N. S. Or again, suppose that a gathering of four sheets had been arranged according to Rule I and ruled O.S. (Figure 7). If scribe A takes sheet 1 and, after scribe B has abstracted sheet 2, continues with sheet 3, then two sheets will have convex confronting convex on the flesh-sides, with correspondences.

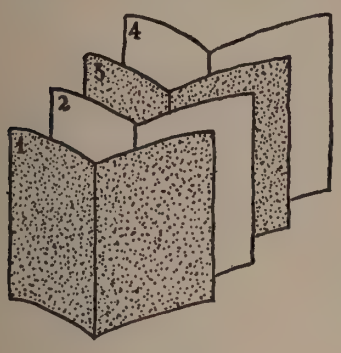

FIGURE 7

As a matter of fact, there are few such accidental cases, for the reason that under O. S., so far as my observation goes, the practice of drawing from a pile does not seem to have been much in vogue. The most notable case is that of No. 17 (Tours, 10), a book obviously old (that is, the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century), if palaeographical evidence means anything at all.[1] Correspondences do not exist there in the few quires apparently N. S., and in general, unless correspondences are found in the case of isolated gatherings in a book elsewhere O. S. we may safely regard them as accidental.

Finally, the surmise that N. S. was not a discovery but a re-discovery[2] has been confirmed by a fresh examination of No. 2, the Ashburnham Pentateuch, a book of the seventh century. Perhaps it was a study of this very book, which if not written at Tours was known there from an early period, that led to the general adoption of N. S., with an improvement — the practice of ruling on the hair-side not the flesh-side.[3]

For Tours, then, it may be stated with some confidence that O. S. was universally practised in the eighth century, and in the ninth down to about 820, when N. S. came in. The earlier method was not entirely abandoned, but in the books of the mid-century the favorite habit was N. S. Later in the century, O. S. acquired a new vogue, but

1. Also No. 27 (Harley 2790) and No. 28 (Harley 2793).
2. *Palae. Lat.* V, 60.
3. Some Franco-Saxon books, e. g., B. N. lat. 457, are sometimes ruled on the flesh-side, the under leaf also having its flesh-side up. This would seem to be the worst arrangement of all, save that the parchment is so splendid and so neatly prepared that the observance of the ordinary rules is not necessary.

dwindled away in the period to follow. N. S. continued to flourish uninterruptedly down to the end of the eleventh century, when the ruling of each leaf separately was observed, first *à la pointe sèche*, then in the twelfth century with lead, and finally with ink.

(*C*) GATHERINGS

Little reference to the matter of gatherings is made in the descriptive list for the reason that the practice followed is well-nigh invariable. The books of Tours in the eighth and ninth centuries are bound in quaternions, with certain irregularities, of course, in the composition of a quaternion, e. g., the absence of a leaf or the insertion of an extra one, or in the occasional use of a binion, ternion, or quinion. These variations are explained by the amount of space required for a given text. In the earliest books of Tours, more irregularities of this sort are found than later, yet even there, we may be dealing with individual exceptions. Quinions are systematically employed in only one book, which, whether written at Tours or not, is of an essentially Insular character.[1] No criteria, therefore, for dating the books of Tours are discoverable in the character of the gatherings.

(*D*) SIGNATURES[2]

Ancient manuscripts, as Lowe has pointed out, generally bore the signature in the right-hand lower corner of the last page of the gathering.[3] That is the practice in most of the earliest books of Tours,[4] in two of the Irish Period,[5] and in exceptional cases later.[6] Some of them may, perhaps, be explained by the nature of the manuscript from which they were copied. Thus the Vatican Livy (No. 16) has a few of

1. No. 10 (B. N., N. A. lat. 1587).
2. I present here the significant facts about signatures, repeating the details under only a few of the descriptions of the individual manuscripts.
3. *Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 208.
4. Nos. 2, 3, 6 (in most cases). Nos. 1 and 5 have no signatures. Only No. 4 has the signatures in the centre and these may well have been added later.
5. No. 7 (under the right columns) and No. 8 in Part I, which is in an Insular hand.
6. Period IVA, Nos. 26, 27 (sometimes *toward* the right), 28 (in the right corner), 35 (sometimes), 38. Period IVB, No. 69. Period V, Nos. 87 (either right, centre, or left), 91 (sometimes). Period IX, Nos. 155 (sometimes), 172 (right corner).

its signatures at the right, probably because its scribes saw them at the right in the ancient *Puteanus*.

In the earliest period (I), signatures consist of q· followed by a numeral, both letter and numeral being decorated with a series of lines (sometimes in the form of a pyramid), placed above and below or on all sides of the letter or numeral. Only No. 4 has an undecorated form throughout (q̄· v, etc.), while No. 6 has decorated forms at first; but in quire VI and following, simply an angular bracket is used (/v̄ī).

In the Irish Period (II), ornamentation is the rule. Letters or numerals or both are decorated with the lines [1] or with fancy figures, including heads of beasts; [2] or letters of Insular shape, filled with red and surrounded with red or black dots, are used instead of numerals.[3] No. 8 (Laur. XLV 15) presents a most interesting mixture. Numerals are accompanied by a decorated Q in Part II, which is the work of a Continental scribe. Simple letters are used with the numeral (e.g., q̄·II·) in Part I, which is in an Insular hand. One might think that it ought to be the other way round. But it is just the situation that we should expect to find in a book done at a Continental monastery where natives and outlanders were writing side by side.

The simple style of signature — q with or without a suprascript line (q̄) or an angular bracket (/q̄) followed by a numeral with or without dots at either side or both (e. g., ·II·) — became the rule for the scribes of Tours. Of the forms cited by Lowe [4] from ancient manuscripts I have not found ꝙ in those of Tours. It is in the Pre-alcuinian Period (III) that the simple style of signature became popular, and it remained in favor during the succeeding periods right down to the twelfth century.

Sometimes the capital Q, not the uncial q, is used, but it is the rarer form.[5] Sometimes, but not frequently, ꝗ is used for q.[6] Only

1. No. 7 (in most cases). For an example, see Plate XIII. 4.
2. No. 9. See Plate XVII. 4.
3. No. 10.
4. *Classical Quarterly*, XIX (1925), 208. For the numeral alone, see Plate XLIX. 2; for the numeral with q̄., Plate IX. 2.
5. Nos. 37, 82, 83, 85, 89 (sometimes), 114, 122, 132, 173, 177, 179.
6. Nos. 30, 35, 50, 53, 75, 92, 157, 160. For examples, see Plates XLIX. 3; XCI. 1.

very rarely is the numeral decorated with lines [1] or dots.[2] The q (ꝙ), the numerals or both are now and then done in red.[3]

Letters instead of numerals are exceedingly rare. They occur in only three manuscripts after the Irish Period, one of which (No. 89) is obviously copied from an Irish source.[4]

Unique is the sort of signature seen in No. 23 (Tours, 22) — a book that is likewise unique in its ruling. On fol. 64^{v} the signature takes the form of a gold cross; on fol. 80^{v} that of a gold H.[5]

Another rarity is the use of catch-words, or *reclamantes*, for signatures. This occurs, if my observation is correct, only in No. 140 (Egerton 609), a book that may well have come to Tours from elsewhere.

The above description is complete for all books on the list down through the ninth century. Even in the tenth century and later, innovations are few. Once the numerals are flanked with leaves.[6] Letters, as before, seem to have been used only rarely;[7] once they are colored red and yellow.[8]

This is an extraordinary record of simplicity. Of course, the record is not complete, for in many cases, particularly in Periods V and VI, when the most elaborate books were written, no signatures have been preserved. They doubtless were originally there, but were cut away with the margin. The more spacious the margin, the less chance of survival for the signature.

One might imagine from the case of the Vatican Livy (No. 16), that the books of Tours are fertile in examples of scribal signatures. That is unhappily not so. A manuscript of the end of the ninth century (No. 169, Tours, 272) contains the names of three scribes,— Isimbertus (fol. 29^{r}), Amadeus (fol. 53^{r}) and Odericus (fol. 83^{r}),— evidently added by the director of the scriptorium, as were those of the scribes of the Vatican Livy, not to immortalize the writers, but to check up

1. Nos. 34, 45 (probably not a book of Tours).
2. No. 69.
3. Nos. 75, 88, 141.
4. Nos. 19, 89, 191. In No. 172, the letters are a later addition.
5. A letter is evidently not intended. This should be Quire K if letters were systematically used.
6. No. 187.
7. No. 191, Part II.
8. No. 188.

the parchment assigned them. The reason why so few of such signatures have come down to us is doubtless that, after the return of the finished gatherings, the names were erased. It is a lucky accident that has preserved those that we have.

Another sort of signature was that made by the scribe himself with the very purpose of proclaiming his work to posterity. This is an offence against the Rule of St. Benedict,[1] but it was tolerated in the case of that great artist Adalbaldus, who in fact calls himself *artifex* on one occasion.[2]

Apart from him the only names that I can cite are Holcundus, probably not a scribe of Tours,[3] Amalricus and Gedeon in Period IVA,[4] Audradus in Period V,[5] Audgarius in a book probably not of Tours,[6] and Berilandus (possibly not of Tours) in Period IX.[7]

The presence of the director of the scriptorium is apparently often noted in the Tironian quire-signatures that accompany a number of the manuscripts. Since these range from the earliest times to the end of the ninth century,[8] it was evidently the practice for the director to sign in Tironian the quires that he gave out, later adding, or causing to be added, the regular signatures when the quires were ready to be bound. When that was done, the Tironian notes, I take it, would be erased.

It was perhaps the director — at any rate, it was not the scribe of the text — who inserted guide-titles in Tironian in one of the books of Adalbaldus;[9] the ink is clearly different from that which Adalbaldus used. The procedure was evidently, then, in this case, for the scribe of the text to leave space for the titles, for another scribe (or perhaps Adalbaldus himself later, using different ink) to write guide-titles in Tironian, and lastly for a special artist to put in the titles themselves. Such a division of labor makes for accuracy.

1. *S. Benedicti Regula Monachorum*, LVII: Artifices si sunt in monasterio, cum omni humilitate faciant ipsas artes, si permiserit abbas. Quod si aliquis ex eis extollitur pro scientia artis suae, eo quod videatur aliquid conferre monasterio, hic talis erigatur ab ipsa arte et denuo per eam non transeat, nisi forte humiliato ei iterum abbas iubeat.
2. See No. 99.
3. See on No. 10.
4. Nos. 27, 29.
5. No. 74.
6. No. 45.
7. No. 179. The monogram in No. 161 is possibly that of the scribe.
8. Period I, No. 3; Period III, Nos. 16, 18; Period IVA, No. 35; Period IVB, Nos. 49, 54, 59; Period V, No. 77; Period VI, No. 123; Period IX, Nos. 157, 170, 173.
9. No. 91.

An exceedingly interesting instance of the director's activities is presented in the Grandval Bible (No. 77). In quire XLI, the separate leaves are labelled in the lower margin *in primo folio* (fol. 309^{r}), *in secundo folio* (fol. 310^{r}), *in iii folio* (fol. 311^{r}), *in vi folio* (fol. 314^{r}), *in vii folio* (fol. 315^{r}). On fol. 313^{r}, the tall *I* and *l* show at the bottom of the page; on the remaining pages (foll. 312^{r}, 316^{r}), nothing is visible now, though they probably were labelled in the same way.

What was the purpose of these notes? Surely the scribe could count his leaves. He would know, after the gathering had been made up, which was first, which was second, and so on. A study of his workmanship in this quire and that which precedes, shows, I believe, why these notes were helpful. The book from which the copy was made had been divided, I take it, into its gatherings for simultaneous reproductions by a large number of scribes. Scribe M, who had done the preceding gathering, writes an easy, graceful hand and tends to flow on regardless of the space assigned him. He had to crowd to get in the end of *Chronicles* (fol. 307^{v}). The director, planning ahead for *Ezra*, saw that this book would normally end in col. 1, fol. 316^{r}. According to the rule followed in the more elaborate books of Tours, an *Explicit* (generally in Rustic Capitals) should come near the end of a column, or at least an *Incipit* should stand at the head of a column, sometimes with the *Explicit* occupying a goodly space at the end of the preceding column. It was in order to make sure that the leisurely and expansive scribe M should watch his spaces that the director labelled the leaves. M would take pains, then, *to fit each leaf of his original into one leaf of his parchment.* We can actually see him at work, with this problem in mind. The first two folia turn out well; the work is neatly done on the final column of the leaf. At the end of fol. 311^{v}, however, the writing is decidedly crowded and abbreviations are thick; he is making up for his failure sufficiently to condense in the earlier portion of the leaf. On fol. 312^{r}, he begins by condensing too much, and, therefore, spreads toward the end of the second column. On fol. 313^{v}, likewise, he finds so much room at the end that he leaves one line blank. On fol. 314^{v}, he first crowds toward the end of column 1, then spreads, then crowds again, with plentiful abbreviations. He is obeying the director well, fitting his copy to the original not only leaf by leaf but

page by page and column by column. Take care of the columns and the leaves will take care of themselves. But his besetting sin, easy-going elegance, again gets the better of him, and on fol. 315^{v}, he makes amends once more by tremendous compression and the use of numerous abbreviations, including some (e. g., t̃ = *tus*) that scribes of Tours generally avoided at that time.[1]

Needless to say, if this part of the Grandval Bible was copied from a dismembered original, it follows that other parts, and presumably all parts, were so copied. Perhaps somebody will find other traces of this parent book. I have thus far found no connection between the Grandval Bible and the others of the Alcuinian recension.[2]

To the best of my observation, notes of the sort thus described occur in none of the books of Tours except the Grandval Bible. It would be interesting to know whether scholars have observed them elsewhere.

Requisitum est

Another accompaniment of the quire-signatures throws light — and a favorable light — upon the practices of the scriptorium. I had noticed that in several books the Q was accompanied by an R, the two being separated by a numeral. Thus: Q̄ · VII · R̄.[3] Were the two elements in the symbol for *quaternio*, ꝙ, thus separated? That seems unlikely. The explanation became obvious in B. N. 68 (No. 50), where R̄ appears at the right of the centre on fol. 109^{v}, ꝙ VIII REq̄ on fol. 42^{v}, and *requisitum est* plainly at the ends of various gatherings.[4] The term apparently signifies "collated with the original" and was added by the corrector, or caused to be added by him, after he had done his work. This meaning of *requiro*, equivalent to the German "*nachschlagen*," is not found, so far as I am aware, in ancient authors, but it must have been common Carolingian usage, — at least a *terminus technicus* of the scriptorium, — as we see from a note in a Vatican manuscript of St. Augustine's *Sermons* (Vat. lat. 474, *saec.* IX), to which Traube called attention in 1891.[5] A scribe has added on fol.

1. See below, p. 26. 2. See below, p. 31. 3. No. 80, fol. 45^{v}.
4. Foll. 8^{v} (*requitum est*) (*sic*), 68^{v} (traces), 101^{v} (*r̄qisitum est*), 115^{v}, 139^{v}, 159^{v}.
5. "Untersuchungen zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte römischer Schriftsteller," *Sitzungsberichte der philos.-philol. und histor. Classe der k. bayer. Akademie*, pp. 387–428 = *Vorlesungen*, III, 15.

95[r]: *hucusque ab abbate et praeceptore lupo requisitum et distinctum est.* Lupus Servatus had evidently collated the text with the original and punctuated it; what else he did we shall soon learn in full detail from Professor Beeson.

The Paris Bible B. N. 68 (No. 50) was written considerably before the activities of Lupus. If I judge its character aright, its date is not much later than the régime of Alcuin and its script shows the presence of that Regular Style which I would associate with Alcuin's name. If we could be sure that No. 44 (B. N. 1451) was written in 796, we could say surely that the practice was in vogue in Alcuin's time, or even that it had preceded him, for R appears separated from Q at the end of various gatherings in this manuscript.[1] In the Berlin *De Amicitia* (No. 39), which is possibly a Pre-alcuinian, and at any rate an early, book, a single R appears on fol. 16[v], though possibly it is a remnant of ꝗ. My next example is from a book that I put in the Period IVB, Mazarine 274 (No. 60).[2] We next meet it in the latter part of the régime of Fridugisus,[3] then in the mid-century,[4] and finally, in a book that seems to me rather of the end of the ninth century than, as is stated in the *Catalogue*, of the eleventh.[5] Whatever the date of the last-named book, here is sufficient evidence — and very possibly my notes do not contain all the evidence — that the practice of collating a copy with the original and of signifying this fact was observed in at least some cases at Tours from the beginning to the end of the ninth century.[6] Is *requisitum* found in other scriptoria? Other investigators must let us know.

1. Fol. 8[v]: q. R. I (both letter and the numeral decorated with lines) and so on foll. 24[v], 32[v], 40[v]; elsewhere ꝗ followed by the numeral (foll. 52[v], 60[v], etc.).

2. Fol. 78[v], where Rq̄ is written under ·x·; fol. 140[v], /q̄ XVIII·Rq̄.

3. No. 75 (Laon, 220): fol. 10[v], q̄. I Rq.; No. 82 (B. N. lat. 274): fol. 45[v], Q̄·VII·R̄, and similarly on foll. 59[v], 90[v] (traces), 98[v], 120[v], 128[v], 136[v]; No. 92 (Tours, 844): fol. 8[v], q̄ I R̄, and similarly, foll. 16[v], 24[v], 59[v], 75[v].

4. No. 123 (Tours, 106): fol. 48[v], VI /RQ̄, 136[v] XVII RĒQ.

5. No. 171 (Tours, 282): fol. 14[v], RQ̄S XI (partly cut away), and similarly, foll. 30[v], 38[v]; fol. 46[v], XV Rq̄s (partly cut); fol. 54[v], RQ̄S ÷ (partly cut), and so foll. 62[v], 70[v]; XVIII. RQ̄S ÷ (preserved entire), and so foll. 78[v], 86[v], 94[v].

6. Nos. 92 and 171 are books of St. Gatian; No. 106 is of St. Martin's.

(*E*) ABBREVIATIONS

In the earliest books of Tours and in those of the Irish Period, there is no fixed system of abbreviations. There are more symbols than one might expect in the Desnoyers Eugippius (No. 3); I believe that in this book, no less than in No. 18 (Tours, 286), many of the abbreviations employed were taken from the ancient manuscript that the scribes were copying. When the Irish came, there naturally came with them an infusion of the symbols to which they were accustomed. These Insular symbols, however, like Insular script and art in general, found little favor at Tours; they exercised only a passing influence. For the symbols employed in the first and second periods, I would refer the reader to the account of the different manuscripts included under them (Nos. 1–10).

At least as early as Alcuin, and probably in the period just preceding him, the scribes of Tours seem to have agreed upon a system of abbreviations which I have called Regular. If that term is used in the descriptions below, it indicates that the abbreviations used in the manuscript to which it is applied do not, so far as my observation goes, exceed those included in the present list. I have appended, after the word "Also", any others that I have noted. Possibly a few additions should be made to the list, but it represents with tolerable accuracy, I am sure, the general practice from the last quarter of the eighth century for about a hundred years. The scribes of Tours doubtless knew more symbols than these; in an emergency they will use every device at their command.[1] But, in general, they will keep within the bounds here described, sometimes not even availing themselves of all the symbols on the list. I have marked with a star those that one is almost sure to find in any book of Tours — yet even some of these do not always appear. If there is one symbol particularly favored at Tours, it is $\overline{\text{qnm}}$ for *quoniam*. We find it in the Desnoyers Eugippius (No. 3) and ever thereafter. Even if a scribe has taken a vow to reduce abbreviation to a minimum, he cannot resist slipping in at least an occasional $\overline{\text{qnm}}$.

1. See, for instance, on the Grandval Bible, No. 77, and above, pp. 22 f.

The Manuscripts of Tours

The symbol t̓ or t̋ for *tur* is regular at the end of the eighth century and from then on till about 820. The 2-symbol, which I think came in at the turn of the century,[1] was only sparingly employed at that time. About 820, it was taken up again, contested the field with t̓ for a decade or so, and before the middle of the century had won a complete victory. In the revival of Merovingian traits at the close of the ninth century, t̓ was brought back with them and stayed for a while, but soon was given up in the script of Tours.

At the time when t̋ and t̓ were in conflict (*ca.* 820), the latter symbol began to be used for *tus*, yet only rarely and in cases of emergency. It is used with greater frequency in the books of the Mid-century, but it is not really established till the close of that period. I confess that I had always thought of t̓ = *tus* as a fairly early symbol; but such it is not in the books of Tours.

Among the symbols for the *nomina sacra*, the most interesting are those for Iesus and Christus with Greek H and C (IHS IHC XPC). As Traube has shown,[2] the re-introduction of the Greek letters is no natural development but the result of scholarly theory, for which the Irishman Cruindmelus and, probably before him, Amalarius of Tours are mainly responsible. The latter started the discussion in certain letters written between 818 and 828 that were inserted in his work *De Officiis Ecclesiasticis*.[3] He recommended the use of H and C, but Jonas, Bishop of Orléans, disapproved the innovation; nor was it favored in Amalarius's own Tours till the Mid-century. Even in the manuscript of the *De Officiis* written at Tours [4] which contains the letters of Amalarius, the Greek forms are not used. It took some time for the suggestion to work. The new way by no means drove out the old; in the last quarter of the ninth century, it rather dwindled away, though not altogether. From time to time, the sacred symbols are written with H and C in manuscripts of the subsequent centuries.[5]

The list of Regular abbreviations is here appended.

1. *Speculum*, II (1927), 52–65.
2. *Nomina Sacra*, pp. 5, 161 ff.
3. Dümmler, *Mon. Hist. Germ.*, *Epist.*, V, 259 ff.; Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CV, 1333 C.
4. No. 75 (Laon, 220).
5. Full information on this point would be of interest.

History of the Script

Regular Abbreviations

autem..... *aut̄
cuius ..... cuı̓
eius ..... eı̓
esse ..... *·ēe· (the dots may be omitted or used on only one side of the symbol)
est ..... *·ē· (same use of dots as for ·ēe·)
essent..... *ēent (with or without dots)
frater, fratris frıs
fratri... frı
fratrem. frm
fratres.. *frs
huius..... huı̓
meus ..... ms (rare before the Mid-century)
nobis ..... *nob̓
non ..... *N̄ *n̄
noster..... *nr̄ *nt̄ *nrt
nostri, etc.... *nrı *nro *nrm *nrorum *nrıs *nros *nra *nrae *nram *nrarum *nras (occasional survivals of nı for *nostri*)
omnis, omnes *oms omns
omnia ... oma
omnipotens .. omnps
per..... *p̧
prae..... *p̄
pro ..... *p̧
post ..... p̧
quae..... *q̄ q̄:
que ..... *q: *q; q· (not frequent)
qui..... q̇
quo..... *q̊
quod..... qd̄
quoniam .... *qnm *qm (less frequent)
secundum ... secd̄m
saeculum ... *scl̄m
saeculi, etc. scl̄i scl̄o scl̄a scl̄orum scl̄is
sunt ..... *s̄

uel ..... uł ł
uester ..... *u̅r̅ *u̅t̅ *u̅rt̅
uestri etc.,. u̅rı̅ u̅ro̅ u̅rm̅ u̅ro̅rum u̅rı̅s u̅ro̅s
u̅ra̅ u̅ra̅e u̅ra̅m u̅ra̅rum u̅ra̅s
uobis ..... *uoƀ

Syllabic Abbreviations

con ..... c̄ (e. g., c̄tra)
en ..... *men* *m̄ (e. g., nom̄)
er ..... *ter* *t̄ (e. g., propt̄)
it ..... *in verbs (e. g., dix̄)
um ..... *rum*, especially *orum* — *o᷑ or᷑
unt ..... *runt* *r̄ (dixer̄ etc.)
ur ..... *tur* t᷑ t᷒ tᷓ (mainly Period III)
t᷒ t᷑ (Period V and later. See p. 26.)
us .....
bus ..... *b: *b; b· (rare)
cus ..... c᷑ (e. g., intrinsec᷑), rare
dus ..... d᷑ (e. g., perfid᷑), rare
mus ..... *m᷑ m+ (rare)
nus ..... n᷑ n+ (rare)
pus ..... p᷑ (e. g., op᷑) rare
rus ..... r᷑ (rare)
tus ..... t᷑ (Period V and later. See p. 26.)
Nomina Sacra dn̄s dn̄ı dn̄o dn̄m
ihs ihu ihm ıhs ıhc (Mid-century. See p. 26.)
x̄ps x̄pı x̄po x̄pm x̄po x̄pe x̄pc (Mid-century. See p. 26.)
d̄ns d̄nı d̄no d̄nm d̄ne
s̄ps s̄pm s̄pu (sometimes used inappropriately, e. g., s̄pm immundum)
s̄cs s̄cı s̄co s̄cm s̄corum s̄cis
s̄cos s̄ca s̄cae s̄cam s̄carum s̄cas
s̄cifico and parts, s̄cificatio, s̄citas
s̄cuarium and other derivatives of *sanctus*
ıs̄rl d̄d ēps̄ pres̄b p̄r̄b̄t, etc.

(*F*) PUNCTUATION

In the manuscripts of Tours before Alcuin's time, no clear system of punctuation is apparent. The matter is treated with little care, except in the Irish books, in which some of the elaborate end-stops familiar in Insular script occur. Alcuin's interest in punctuation is well known, likewise his denunciation of the scribes of Tours for their neglect of it. He follows Cassiodorus in the latter's eulogy of this useful art.[1] Of the three varieties recommended by Cassiodorus,[2] he observes at least two. In the Dagulf Psalter, which, as Rudolf Beer amply demonstrated, was done under Alcuin's supervision, we find ./ for a half-pause and ˷ and ·; for a whole pause, there being little occasion, it would seem, to distinguish *positura media* from *subdistinctio*.[3]

It was not so easy for the master to reform the "*rusticitas*" of the scribes of Tours. The tone of his letter to Charlemagne implies that,[4] and we may make the same inference from the punctuation in the books of Tours of Alcuin's time and later. The general method was to use the point, placed about the middle of the letter, for both half-pauses and whole pauses. Many of the manuscripts bear corrections in another ink, in which an up-stroke is added to the dot to denote a half-pause (./) and a down-stroke (˷ ·˷) to denote a whole pause. The sign with the three dots (⁖ ·;) is exceedingly rare.[5] When such corrections were made is impossible to say. It would not be surprising if they often were put in by the director or a corrector especially as-

1. *De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum*, I, 15 (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 1129 D: Sed ut in his omnibus addere videaris ornatum, posituras quas Graeci θέσεις vocant . . . singulis quibusque pone capitibus . . . Quale est enim inoffenso gradu per sensus ire sanctissimos . . . totamque dictionem sic per membra dividere, ut suis partibus considerate pulchrescant? . . . Istae si quidem posituræ seu puncta, quasi quaedam viae sunt sensuum et lumina dictionum, etc. See Beer, *Mon. Pal. Vind.*, I (1910), 55.

2. Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 1130 A: Prima est media, secunda subdistinctio, tertia plena. Cassiodorus refers to Donatus for further information.

3. Beer, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 f., 66; Tafeln 24, 25, 26.

4. Ep. 172, written 799 (Dümmler, *Mon. Hist. Germ., Epist.*, IV, 285, ll. 16 ff.): Punctorum uero distinctiones uel subdistinctiones licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum in sententiis, tamen usus illorum propter rusticitatem pene recessit a scriptoribus. . . . Ego itaque licet parum proficiens cum Turonica cotidie pugno rusticitate.

5. At least in ordinary texts. But it should be observed that in the Dagulf Psalter, though occurring in the text of the *Psalms*, the sign ·; is apparently not found in that of the dedicatory poem (Beer, *op. cit.*, Tafeln 17, 18). I have observed it *in the Psalms* in various Bibles of Tours (e. g., cf. No. 122). The matter needs further study.

signed to the task, who would return the new book *requisitum et distinctum*.[1] In some cases, of course, the punctuation may be a much later addition. It seems unreasonable to expect the scribe while at work to solve the often delicate questions of punctuation; his mind should not be diverted from his proper task of reproducing in clear and beautiful forms the words of the original with little attention to their sense.

However, the scribes of Tours eventually learned a careful system of punctuation and applied it as they wrote. It consists in the use of a low dot for half-pauses and a high one for full pauses — just the opposite of what now would seem the rational way. But it was the rational way then, since the scribe started with a low dot to which he attached the rising stroke that indicated, like a neum, the rising of the voice; and he started with a high dot to which he attached a descending stroke with which the voice descended. The position of the dots in this "down-up" method tells the story. Sometimes another hand adds the strokes, but as often the dots are left alone.

Now this system was proclaimed, after the Greeks, by the Roman grammarians,[2] and transmitted to the Middle Ages with the sanction of Cassiodorus [3] and of St. Isidore. The latter's words are most explicit.[4] Wattenbach,[5] who discusses the passages in the grammarians, St. Isidore and Cassiodorus, remarks that the rule was not often followed and that in the minuscule script it was inadequate, so that the Irish and the Carolingians enlarged the dot with further distinctive signs.[6] However, the scribes of Tours had little difficulty with the

1. See above, pp. 23 f.
2. Donatus, I, 5 (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, IV, 372); Diomedes, II (Keil, I, 437).
3. *Loc. cit.*, *Patr. Lat.*, LXX, 1129–30.
4. *Etymologiae*, I, xx, 2–5: Prima positura subdistinctio dicitur; eadem et comma. Media distinctio sequens est; ipsa et cola. Vltima distinctio, quae totam sententiam cludit, ipsa est periodus; cuius, ut diximus, partes sunt cola et comma; quarum diversitas punctis diverso loco positis demonstratur. Vbi enim initio pronuntiationis necdum plena pars sensui est, et tamen respirare oportet, fit comma, id est particula sensus, punctusque ad imam litteram ponitur; et vocatur subdistinctio, ab eo quod punctum subtus, id est ad imam litteram, accipit. Vbi autem in sequentibus iam sententia sensum praestat, sed adhuc aliquid superest de sententiae plenitudine, fit cola, mediamque litteram puncto notamus; et mediam distinctionem vocamus, quia punctum ad mediam litteram ponimus. Vbi vero iam per gradus pronuntiando plenam sententiae clausulam facimus, fit periodus, punctumque ad caput litterae ponimus; et vocatur distinctio, id est disiunctio, quia integram separavit sententiam.
5. *Anleitung zur lateinischen Paläographie*, 4 Aufl., Leipzig, 1886, pp. 89 ff.
6. Page 90: "In Minuskel konnte man natürlich mit höher und niedriger gestellten Puncten nicht auskommen." He speaks of ./ › ·; (or ⁊) as characteristic of the Carolingian schools.

ancient system. They may have rediscovered it by reading St. Isidore. Compared with the use of ./ ; and ·; it saved time and secured a more beautiful page. Not much attention was paid to the *positura media*. In other words, *commata* and *cola* are not carefully distinguished; the distinction is between a half-pause and a whole pause. The "down-up" method first appears in the latter part of the abbacy of Fridugisus, that period in which the 2-symbol for *tur* and the new style of ruling were introduced. It is found in many, but not all, of the books of Tours written between that time and the end of the ninth century, and occurs in a few cases even later.[1]

The forms of the question-mark may deserve fresh study, though I could find no criteria for dating among them. In general, a dot with something like a figure 2 (⁘) is used.

(*G*) TEXT

I have already apologized for attempting no systematic estimate of the text of the works included in the manuscripts of Tours.[2] One essential undertaking is to determine the exact contents of the gatherings of the Alcuinian Bibles. The Grandval Bible[3] was copied from an original that had been divided into its gatherings. Was that original used for the copying of other Bibles now extant? Not for the Rorigo Bible (No. 80) or the Vivian Bible (No. 116) or the others mentioned in the present paragraph. But there are exact correspondences in the contents of quires in certain manuscripts. Nos. 49 (Harley 2805), 50 (B. N. 68), 57 (B. N. 11514), 70 (Angers 1), and 93 (Troyes 29) are all descended from a copy of the Alcuinian recension of the Bible, which had been separated into its gatherings for the purpose of simultaneous copying by several scribes. Was such a copy kept on hand for this purpose? Can we reconstruct its text? Was it the receptacle of various corrections from time to time that appear in the later books? A host of questions throng, the answer to which should have a bearing on the script and the illumination as well as on the text.

1. Period IVA, No. 34; Period IVB, Nos. 53, 64; Period V, Nos. 72, 79, 80, 86, 94; Period VI, Nos. 115, 116, 119, 121; Period VII, No. 132; Period VIII, Nos. 142, 145, 146, 149; Period IX, Nos. 152, 163, 167; Period X, Nos. 187, 193.

2. Preface, pp. xii f.

3. See above, p. 23.

CHAPTER IV

A Brief Account of the Development of the Script of Tours

PERIOD I. THE EARLIEST BOOKS OF TOURS

WHETHER or not the Paris St. Hilary (No. 1) was written at St. Martin's, it may serve as a specimen of the kind of writing presumably familiar in Tours in the sixth century, whether native or imported — a clear, round uncial for the text with rustic capitals in titles and colophons,[1] both scripts serving as models for the Renaissance of writing under Charlemagne.

In the following century, uncial script degenerated.[2] Again, whether or not the Ashburnham Pentateuch (No. 2) was written at St. Maurice's or elsewhere in Tours, it can give us an idea of the decadence that had ensued in both the script of the text and in titles. The pictures in this book take us into a different world — an ancient and oriental world, interpreted as well as an occidental artist of the Dark Ages could. Far better than the uncial of the text is that of the later corrector C (Plate III. 1). We have come down at least to the middle of the eighth century, and not much later than that, judging from the character of the illumination. The script, while lacking the elegance of the reformed uncial of the Carolingian Renaissance, is clear and firm. The minuscule supplement in this book is later (*saec.* VIII/IX) and recalls the style of one of the manuscripts of Tours (No. 58, B. N., N. A. lat. 1595) of about that time.

Another manuscript in uncials, likewise with minuscule supplements of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, is No. 4, the Marmoutier Prophets. Its date likewise would seem to be about the middle of the eighth century. Some of it is done in semi-

1. In the following descriptions, I use the word "titles" in a general sense, to include either headings, or colophons, or both.

2. Chatelain, *Uncialis Scriptura*, p. 40.

uncial. If Tours is its place of origin, as is natural to suppose, this was presumably one of the last books that maintained the uncial and semiuncial tradition of the preceding centuries.

A book with more promise of something new is of earlier date than the last, the Desnoyers Eugippius (No. 3), originally from St. Martin's. Here certain sections of the text are in uncial and semiuncial, which are also used decoratively in a hierarchical succession of scripts, as often in the later books of Tours. But most of the manuscript is written by many hands in minuscule, some exceedingly cursive, some not lacking in clearness and an obvious desire for style. In fact, one might see in this very book the birth of what is called the Caroline minuscule, or at least the formative conditions that preceded its birth.[1]

Notable progress in the same direction is evident in No. 6, the Paris manuscript of the *Acta Concilii Ephesini*, made famous by Baluze. Uncials and semiuncials are no longer employed for the text. The minuscule recalls the wildness of the Eugippius in only a few of the hands; the others have made remarkable improvement, one of them (Plate XI. 2) rivalling the achievement of the scribes of the Maurdramnus Bible of Corbie. The next volume in the present series will, I hope, be devoted to a minute study of these two early books of Tours.

On the ruling, the gatherings, the signatures, and the abbreviations found in the books of this group, see the preceding chapter.

It will be observed that all the three establishments of Tours are represented in the books of this period, though, of course, some of these manuscripts may have been presents from other places. Three of them, I am confident (Nos. 3, 5, and 6), show us the style of writing practised at St. Martin's; nor have I reason to doubt that No. 4 illustrates the kind of uncials written at Marmoutier in the eighth century, as well as the minuscules in vogue at the end of that century or the beginning of the next. And whatever the birthplace of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (No. 2), the uncial and minuscule additions may be claimed for Tours, presumably for the scriptorium of St. Maurice.

1. Lauer, *La Réforme Carolingienne*, pp. 13 f.

The Manuscripts of Tours

PERIOD II. THE IRISH AT TOURS

At some time before the middle of the eighth century, it would appear that certain Irish scribes had settled in Tours. Very probable evidence in this matter is found in No. 7, the Egerton manuscript of St. Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*. This book, as its press-mark shows, was surely at St. Martin's in Merovingian times. It contains both Insular script and a Continental variety, modified and clarified by Insular influence. Notes by a Merovingian corrector resembling the wilder style of the Paris Eugippius (No. 3) suggest the kind of script that was submitted to this wholesome influence. The resulting hand may also be compared with the better varieties of No. 3. The same combination of Continental Insular and Continental modified by Insular meets us in No. 8, the Laurentian manuscript of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, attributed to Tours by Rostagno. Another copy of this author, No. 9 (Vat. lat. 1512), is entirely in the Insularized Continental script, and both this and No. 8 are closely connected in their text with No. 89 (Vat. Reg. lat. 1484), which was surely written at Tours about 820. A manuscript entirely in Continental Insular is No. 10, the Gospels of St. Gatian. Some, if not all, of these books may have been written at Tours or imported to Tours during this "Irish Period." While admitting that the line of development from the Eugippius (No. 3) to the *Acta Concilii Ephesini* (No. 6) does not need the supposition of any extraneous influence, it may well have been that Irish scribes, or scribes trained in the Irish manner, worked by the side of those who combined and improved the traditional script of Tours and that their presence contributed something to this improvement.

In the method of ruling and arrangement of hair-sides and flesh-sides, the same irregularities appear as in the other early books. The abbreviations, especially in the portions written in Insular script, include, as is natural, many of the Insular sort. These made little impression in the system ultimately developed at Tours; nor was the style of illumination, apart from the use of interlaces, notably affected by Insular habits. Few, I believe, would now maintain that the Egerton St. Jerome (No. 7) was written under Alcuin or that the latter, for

this reason, was interested in introducing Insular methods at Tours. In general, this wave of Irish influence was only of passing significance.

In an attempt to distinguish the work of the three chief scriptoria of Tours, the evidence, as in Period I, is most clear in the case of St. Martin's. No. 7 is a book that was owned, used, corrected (and why not written?) by the monks of St. Martin's in the Merovingian period. How early St. Maurice possessed No. 10, cannot be definitely stated.

The selection of the works to be copied is, naturally, an index of the intellectual and spiritual interests of the times. Although the books of the Irish Period are few and although the very existence of that period is still open to debate, it may be worth remarking that the manuscripts here noticed show the three-fold aspect of monastic training that is conspicuous in the later periods. Holy Scripture is represented by the Gospels of St. Gatian (No. 10); of the study of the Fathers, St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah (No. 7) is evidence[1]; and that the Classics are not forgotten, we see from the two copies of the commentary of Tiberius Claudius Donatus on Virgil (Nos. 8 and 9).

PERIOD III. THE PRE-ALCUINIAN STYLE

The books of this period have some of the features of what is today commonly known as Pre-Caroline. Chronologically, they are all Caroline, all written after Charlemagne came to the throne in 768; and in some of their aspects they are palaeographically Caroline. So far as Tours is concerned, I would call them Pre-alcuinian. Some of them might have been written after Alcuin came to St. Martin's, or even shortly after his death. They are all, however, typical of the style that had prevailed before his coming, in the last quarter of the eighth century. Abbot Itherius, a man of some note,[2] may perhaps have had some influence in the development of this style.

The minuscule has advanced beyond the stage reached by the books of the Mid-century, in the further restriction of cursive traits and in general neatness, though for their beauty of execution I have found nothing among the books that I associate with this period to

1. Evidently a favorite work at Tours. See Nos. 24, 34, 169. The texts of these copies should be studied, especially in their relation to that of No. 7.

2. See above, p. 3.

excel the fair hand of No. 6 displayed in Plate XI. 2. In view of the general improvement in the minuscule, I give it the name of Improved Cursive. We note the appearance of a small variety used for Capitula in the only Bible of this period, No. 17 (Tours 10).

In the arrangement of hair-sides and flesh-sides of the leaves, Rules I and II have come to stay. The ruling is invariably 4 or 2 O. S., the only exception being in a few of the gatherings of No. 17 (Tours 10), which may reasonably be attributed to chance.[1]

Semiuncial is not very systematically employed, though it is more frequent than in the Continental script written under the influence of the Irish (Period II). It is rather crudely made, and yet there is an obvious effort to decorate some of the letters; in particular, little caps are added at the tops of *b*, *d*, *h*, *l*, and the bases of *f*, *p*, and *q*. I call this kind of semiuncial "Ornate." Another feature is the use of an *n* with the second shaft rounded (ɴ). This form is specifically semiuncial, being modelled, it would seem, on the semiuncial ᴍ, in which the last stroke is similarly rounded. Ancient semiuncial and that of the Regular Style of Tours adopted the majuscule N. That form had likewise come into minuscule in the middle of the eighth century, and it stayed there for some time. It may be noted, incidentally, that Tours was not the only centre at the time which cultivated semiuncial. The famous Bible of Maurdramnus of Corbie (Amiens 6, 7, 11) shows two varieties of semiuncials, the one with a crude admixture of minuscule forms, the other with a fairly close approach to the regular type.[2]

Uncials are in general fairly well made. They had persisted as a book hand more tenaciously than had semiuncials, as we have seen in the Marmoutier Prophets (No. 4) and in the supplementary hand (C) of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (No. 2). Capitals are less certain. They generally allow an admixture of uncials or are fancifully decorated with forks or flourishes. It is only at the end of this period, and perhaps not till the next, that good square capitals in the ancient style are reintroduced. Rustic capitals are rare and imperfect.

Like the method of ruling, abbreviations have become systematized. They are in general included in the list that I have described as

1. See above, pp. 16 f.
2. So at least I infer from my notes taken in 1912. But this statement should be verified.

Regular.[1] They are few in number, however; very possibly the scribes of this period had not so many in reserve as those that constitute this list. One most interesting exception is No. 18 (Tours 286), which is packed with all sorts of ancient *notae;* these come from the original that was copied by the scribes of that book, and are no indication of the sort usually practised in the scriptorium at that time. For *tur*, which often is unabbreviated,the regular symbol is the apostrophe (t'), or a semi-circle with the points turned to the left (No. 13) or downwards (No. 12). The 2-symbol (t̂) also appears, but is rare. It was tried as an experiment, it would seem, but did not for the moment, acquire a general vogue. Later (about 820) it did, and drove its rival off the field.

None of the manuscripts of this period is dated, but in the case of two we may appeal to certain evidence outside their palaeographical characteristics. Tours 10 (No. 17), we may place in all probability before Alcuin, because its text is one of the sources of his recension of the Bible. It is not likely that it is a copy of such a source made after his recension had acquired vogue. Vat. Reg. lat. 762 (No. 16), I would place before Alcuin on the evidence of the St. Gall list of the monks of Tours. Though the book can hardly be pinned down precisely to A.D. 795, my arguments appear to have won general acceptance of the main point with which I was concerned, namely that it was written at a time considerably before the date of the list itself (*ca.* 820)[2] and presumably before Alcuin's influence was felt at Tours. A date between 795 (or a few years earlier) and a year or two before Alcuin's death would fit the facts as I see them. If, then, we take these two books (Nos. 16 and 17) as our best evidence of the Pre-alcuinian style, it will be found that the others on our list may be reasonably grouped with them.

There is no material in the books of this group for distinguishing the work of the three chief scriptoria of Tours, since none of them comes from either the library of St. Gatian's or that of Marmoutier.

1. See above, pp. 25 ff.

2. W. Weinberger, "Bericht über Paläographie und Handschriftenkunde, 1922–1925," *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, CCIX (1926, III), 16: "Nun ist es richtig, dass die Liste nach dem 1. Juni 818 entstanden sein muss (wahrscheinlich nicht nach 820) und dass die Hs geraume Zeit vor der Liste angefertigt wurde . . . aber ob noch 795 oder erst 796 unter Alkuin, können wir kaum feststellen."

We have in the Vatican Livy the first book that we can positively say was written at St. Martin's; this we learn from the names of the scribes, who are attested as monks of St. Martin's by the St. Gall list. From this same vantage-point, we may look back at the Desnoyers Eugippius (No. 3) and the *Acta Concilii Ephesini* (No. 6). The three manuscripts, it is apparent, are links in one chain of development. Nor are the other two books from the library of St. Martin's, Tours 10 (No. 17) and Tours 286 (No. 18), any less closely related to the Vatican Livy. If the latter is a specimen of the less formal style of the day, — necessitated by the hasty copying of an ancient book loaned from elsewhere, — Tours 10 gives us an idea of the most stately work that the monastery was able to produce at that time.

The works selected for copying again attest the intellectual interest that we have noted in the preceding period. There is an Octateuch, possibly part of an entire Bible (No. 17). St. Augustine (No. 11), Optatus (No. 12), and Boethius (No. 20) attest the interest in theology, and there are copies of monastic rules (Nos. 11 and 19). The ancients are represented by Livy (Nos. 14 and 16), and St. Augustine's *De Musica* (No. 18) might have served as a text-book for one of the four subjects of the *quadrivium*. Finally, veneration for the founder is shown by the two copies of the *Martinellus* (Nos. 13 and 15).

PERIOD IV. THE REFORMS OF ALCUIN

Nobody today believes that Alcuin gave the scribes of St. Martin's their first lessons in the art of writing. Yet it were strange if Charlemagne's chief assistant in his programme of reform should not have had some hand in the development of script which was going on all over France.[1] Since it is well-nigh certain that the scribes of the Schola Palatina owed something to Alcuin's supervision,[2] such activities on his part could not have ceased when he assumed the abbacy of

1. This, to be sure, is not Traube's view. See *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 264–285: "Allein, da Alcuin offenbar insular schrieb, in Tours aber die kontinentale Schrift nicht geschmälert sondern verfeinert wurde, so habe ich wohl alles Recht zu sagen, dass der grosse angelsächsische Gelehrte mit der Entwickelung der Form der Schrift gar nichts zu tun hatte, weder mit der, die man in Tours bevorzugte, noch mit der, die man sonst in Frankreich gebrauchte." On the other side, cf. Weinberger, *Jahresbericht*, etc., CLVIII (1912), 105: "nur leugnet Traube mit Unrecht, Alchuins Bedeutung für die karolingische Reform."

2. See above, p. 29.

St. Martin's in 796. Indeed, he immediately reports to the emperor a comprehensive programme of education in which he means not only to offer his pupils the honey of sacred learning but also — the language bespeaks an almost improper enthusiasm for learning — to intoxicate them with the liberal arts.[1] Alcuin's special desire is to get more books, particularly from England — *flores Britanniae* to be transplanted to his little Paradise on the Loire, which will become another *hortus conclusus* where his master may come some day to gather the fruits of this garden.[2] In view of the current allegorical interpretation of the *Song of Songs*, this is an almost blasphemous adaptation of its phrases into which Alcuin has been tempted by his longing for manuscripts. With such hopes for the schoolroom and the library, he hardly intended idle hours in the scriptorium. Later, probably in 801, his new recension of the Bible was presented to the Emperor by his beloved pupil Fridugisus.[3] Alcuin had devoted considerable care to the text and had collated various manuscripts to secure a basis for it. Is it probable that he paid no attention to the form in which the text was presented, to the nature of the script and the illumination? In the work of the Palace School, as represented by a book in the making of which Alcuin pretty clearly had a share, the Golden Psalter presented to Pope Hadrian I,[4] both script and illumination had reached a high point of excellence. One noteworthy character of the script is the restriction of cursive traits. We find the open *a* along with the closed form that came from uncial; [5] we find some ligatures,

1. *Epist.* 121 (796 ^{ex}–797 ^{in}), Dümmler, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Epist.*, IV, 176, 32: Ego vero Flaccus vester secundum exhortationem et bonam voluntatem vestram aliis per tecta sancti Martini sanctarum mella scripturarum ministrare satago; alios vetere antiquarum disciplinarum mero inaebriare studeo, etc.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 177, 6–13: Ideo haec vestrae excellentiae dico, ne (num ?) forte vestro placeat totius sapientiae desiderantissimo consilio, ut aliquos ex pueris nostris remittam, qui excipiant inde nobis necessaria quaeque et revehant in Frantiam flores Britanniae; ut non sit tantummodo in Euborica hortus conclusus, sed in Turonica emissiones paradisi cum pomorum fructibus, ut veniens Auster perflaret hortos Ligeri fluminis et fluant aromata illius, et novissime fiat quod sequitur in Cantico, unde hoc adsumpsi paradigma: 'Veniat dilectus meus in hortum suum, et comedat fructum pomorum suorum.'

3. Berger, p. 189. Alcuin's letters to Charlemagne and to Fridugisus (Nathanael) on this matter are dated 798–803 by Dümmler, *op. cit.*, pp. 418 ff.

4. See above, p. 29, n. 1, for Beer's work, with its plates of unsurpassed excellence.

5. As Schiaparelli acutely observed. See *Il Codice 490 della Biblioteca Capitolare di Lucca* (*Studi e Testi*, 36), Rome, 1924, p. 32. The history of this uncial form in the earliest books of Tours is a matter of much interest, as I shall endeavor to show in the second volume of these *Studies*.

particularly of *st* and *rt*.[1] Yet, though the script lacks elegance, its general effect is anti-cursive. The words and their letters stand out plainly and separately. There is a clear consciousness of the different varieties of majuscules, although they are sometimes mixed; the square capitals are often decorated with flourishes and the rustic capitals lose their rusticity for such adornment. In all this, the book marks an improvement[2] over the mixed lettering of the Godescalc Gospels (781–783),[3] though even there the varieties are to some extent distinguished.

On coming to St. Martin's, Alcuin found an Improved Cursive script that had made notable advance, though much remained to be done. He might well have conceived at that time, as a result of his previous experience, the idea of accomplishing a genuine Renaissance of the ancient styles, of returning to antiquity for the accepted model of each and every form of script. Such a programme would be in line with the plans of the emperor and the tendency of the age, and such, as has already been stated, is precisely the essence of what I call the Regular script of Tours.

For in this script, once more, we note the effort to keep each variety true to type and to find the norm of each type in ancient monuments. Square capital is modelled on the kind that we see in inscriptions of the Augustan Age and the Early Empire and in sumptuous books like the St. Gall fragments of Virgil and those of the manuscript divided between the Vatican and Berlin.[4] Rustic capital was as carefully studied as the more imposing sort; its slender letters, with a grace of their own, are again what we find in the ancient books, like the other fragmentary copy of Virgil in the Vatican.[5] Uncial returns, after the degeneracy of the seventh century and the over-elaboration of the eighth, to the simple beauty of the sixth. Semiuncials abandon the decorative finials and the rounded ɒ of the Pre-alcuinian books in favor of the plain elegance of sixth-century models. The new minuscule had no ancient prototype — unless we agree with those who, with consider-

1. See Beer, *op. cit.*, Tafeln 17, 18, 20.
2. *Ibid.*, Tafeln 19, 21.
3. B. N., N. A. lat. 1203.
4. St. Gall, 1394; Vat. lat. 3256. Steffens, *Lateinische Palaeographie*, Tafel 12.
5. Vat. lat. 3225; Steffens, Tafel 10b.

able reason, be it said, regard semiuncial as the ancient minuscule. But Caroline minuscule, if I may speak categorically on a much-mooted point, was coming up through the cursive, helped by the larger scripts in its struggle for clearness and grace. It could at least be developed into a style worthy of antiquity, if it were rid of cursive wildness, if letters did not lose their individuality by merging with others in forms that disturbed the symmetry of the line, and if each had its character and kept that character fixed. The essence of the Regular script of Tours, therefore, is primarily the systematic cultivation of all the varieties and the systematic distinction of them on the basis of ancient models so far as these existed. No other school, to the best of my knowledge, carried these reactions against cursive so far. No other school so carefully distinguished the sorts of majuscule; the general tendency elsewhere was to cultivate a mixed majuscule, in which the forms of square capital, rustic capital, and uncial were used at pleasure. No other school was so hospitable to semiuncial. The studied use of semiuncial is indeed one of the ear-marks of the script of Tours, but it is only one element in a many-sided programme.[1]

Whether this programme was completely thought out by Alcuin, or at least during his régime, I cannot positively prove, but certain signs lead me to give him the benefit of the doubt and to associate this great reform with his name. We may be certain at least, I believe, of his interest in reviving the ancient form of square capital. After the death of Pope Hadrian I in 795, Charlemagne sent to Rome a magnificent slab of black stone on which a poetical epitaph was inscribed in letters of gold. This act is noticed in the *Annales Laureshamenses* of that year.[2] De Rossi, the great authority on Christian epigraphy, gives reason for believing that Alcuin was the author of the verses and that the stone is of a kind still quarried in the Touraine.[3] The border

1. On the element of revival in the script of the time, excellent remarks are made by Janitschek in *Ada-handschrift*, p. 63.

2. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, I, 36, an. 795: epitaphium aureis litteris in marmore conscriptum iussit in Francia fieri, ut eum partibus Romae transmitterent ad sepulturam summi pontificis Adriani ornandum.

3. "L' Inscription du Tombeau d'Hadrian I composée et gravée en France par ordre de Charlemagne," *École Française de Rome, Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, VIII (1888), 478–501; on the quality of the stone, see pp. 484, 495. I am indebted to my friend Philippe Lauer for a reference to this article.

surrounding the inscription contains a delicate pattern, including a grape-vine, and the letters are square capitals of excellent form.[1] No such lettering is found in the decadent epigraphy of Rome in the eighth century. It is a product of the Renaissance which was flourishing in France, and which Charlemagne, helped by Alcuin, did so much to effect.[2] Whatever geologists may say of the nature of the stone, it is clear that the person who directed its carving deliberately sought to revive the style of the best ancient inscriptions, and that this person was in all probability the author of the verses, namely Alcuin himself. And even if it was another, Alcuin would at least have known what had been done and would have understood its significance. Whether the carving was done at Tours is a matter of secondary concern. Alcuin's chief interests were bound up with St. Martin's at or shortly after that time. It is there that he would have matured the full programme for reforming both square capital and the other varieties of script from the models of antiquity.

Wherever the epitaph of Pope Hadrian was carved, a pure style of square capitals was employed for inscriptions at Tours, in the early years of the ninth century. When the tomb of St. Martin was rediscovered in 1860, a number of inscriptions were brought to light. One of these, which had been described by Chalmel [3] records the burial-place of Adalberga, who died in 830. The lettering is in excellent square capitals. The stone may be seen today in the courtyard of the Archaeological Museum in Tours and is reproduced by De Rossi.[4] Another inscription mentioned by Chalmel [5] unhappily has disappeared.[6] Had the Disciples of Reason treated the monuments of

1. See De Rossi, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIII.

2. On fragments of ancient inscriptions at Tours, see Clarey-Martineau, *Tableaux Chronologiques de l'Histoire de Tours*, Tours, 1841, Pl. 8bis.

3. *Histoire et Antiquités de l'Église de St. Martin de Tours, depuis sa Fondation au Commencement du cinquième siècle jusqu'à sa Destruction en 1797*, par J. L. Chalmel, 1807, Tours, MS. 1296 (written in a beautifully clear hand), p. 242.

4. *Op. cit.*, Pl. XIV. Possibly De Rossi (p. 489) may be right in reading DCCCXXL as 840, not 830. "Le premier chiffre X me semble effacé, le creux de ses lignes est vide, sans incrustation de plomb."

5. An epitaph of Bodolaicus, dated ANNO S REG. CARLO (probably Charles the Bald?) *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

6. C. Chevalier, *Les Fouilles de Saint Martin de Tours*, Tours, 1888, p. 97: "on ignore ce qu'elle est devenue." It is neither in the Archaeological Museum of Tours, nor in the little museum at St. Martin's, where every courtesy was shown me by Abbé R. Morçay.

St. Martin's with any reverence, we could survey with considerable ease in a typical cross-section, the history of French epigraphy in the Middle Ages; for the monuments of St. Martin's were many. Most lamentable is the loss of the epitaph of Luitgard, consort of Charlemagne, who died at Tours in 800 and was buried at St. Martin's.[1] At least we can say that the lettering of the epitaph of Adalberga represents the same tradition as that with which Alcuin was familiar on the monument prepared for the tomb of Pope Hadrian I.

Further evidence of Alcuin's interest in the scriptorium of St. Martin's, is that letter, cited above, in which he complains of his scribes' "rusticity," against which he is engaged in daily combats.[2] There is also the little poem about the scribes, which perhaps was hung as an incentive on the walls of the room where they worked.[3] The former passage might refer either to the ignorance of the scribes or to their lack of style or to both. But the words that follow it, however, as Weinberger has pointed out,[4] are clearly reminiscential of the writer's art as practised in the Palace School.[5] Between the lines one may read a determination to elevate the manner of Tours to a like standard.

Furthermore, the fact that Alcuin was seriously concerned with correct punctuation[6] is proof of his interest in all that deals with script. For punctuation is the finishing touch in the process. It not only clarifies the sense but beautifies the page. Cassiodorus's interest in punctuation is no less aesthetical than grammatical, and Alcuin is but echoing his words.[7]

But to what standards, we ask once more, did Alcuin aspire? It is

1. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 162; Chalmel, *op. cit.*, p. 203[bis].
2. See above, p. 29, n. 4.
3. *Carmen* XCIV (Dümmler, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 320): Hic sedeant sacrae scribentes famina legis, etc. These careful and silent workers are not forgetting punctuation: Per cola distinguant proprios et commata sensus, / Et punctos ponant ordine quosque suo.
4. *Jahresbericht*, CCIX (1926, III), 16.
5. Vestra vero auctoritas palatinos erudiat pueros, ut elegantissime proferant quidquid vestri sensus lucidissima dictaverint eloquentia.
6. See the poem just quoted, and above, p. 29.
7. Note in the passage cited above from Cassiodorus (p. 29, n. 1) the delight of the artist manifest in the words *ornatum*, *pulchrescant*, *lumina dictionum*, and compare with Alcuin's phrase *licet ornatum faciant pulcherrimum*. Beer observes appropriately (*op. cit.*, p. 55): "so wäre es doch widersinnig anzunehmen, dass Alkvin, der bei der schriftlichen Aufzeichnung den 'ornatus in sententiis' anstrebte, nicht auch die Redintegratio der Schrift vorausgesetzt habe."

natural to think that he might import from York models of the Insular script for the monks of Tours to imitate. He did hope, as we have seen, for an accession of British books. It was a plausible guess that Codex Egerton 2831 (No. 7), if the editors of the *New Palaeographical Society* [1] had been right in their dating of the book "circa 800," shows us in the part written by an Insular scribe the pattern presented to the scribes of St. Martin's and in the part written in a Continental hand the imitative script that they were able to produce. As we have seen, however, the date of that manuscript must be set back about half a century. It would appear from an anecdote in the *Vita Alcuini* that the monks of Tours bore no particular good-will toward their British brethren.[2] If Alcuin were a wise administrator, and he was, he would not have sought to antagonize unnecessarily the rustic craftsmen amongst whom he was set to work. If he pursued the method that he had applied in the Palace School, he would rather have developed the best features in the script that he found than have tried to introduce what was strange and outlandish.

In fact, the day of experimenting with Insular models had long been over. The scribes of Tours had had that lesson and were ready for something new. Alcuin may well have begun with a kind of book that he had produced with great success in the Palace School, — an elaborate book in gold script, — and seeing good specimens of uncial at Tours, he might reasonably have adopted gold uncials for an *édition de luxe*. At any rate, such a book exists, the copy of the Gospels on which the monarchs of France later took oath as honorary canons of the abbey and which is one of the treasures of the library of Tours today.[3] The ornamentation of this book, according to the authority best qualified to judge, Professor Köhler, is in the style of Fleury. The scriptorium of Tours had been singularly weak in ornamentation. I find it natural enough to suppose that some masterpiece of Fleury was borrowed as a model. And I also note, or think that I note, correspondence in detail between the canon tables of the Golden Gospels

1. Plates 107, 108.

2. *Mon. Germ. Hist., Scriptores*, XV, 1, 193: O Deus, libera istud monasterium de istis Brittonibus; nam sicut apes undique ad matrem revertuntur, ita hi omnes ad istum [*i. e.*, Alcuin] veniunt.

3. No. 23 (Tours 22).

(No. 23) and some of the later products of Tours. It might have been after that experiment with uncials that Alcuin initiated his full programme at Tours, — the reform of all the varieties of script on the basis of the best models of antiquity.[1]

IVa. *The Embellished Merovingian Style*

But to turn from theory to what is apparently fact, Köhler, in a fascinating and well-reasoned article,[2] has described a group of manuscripts that in all probability represent a style of ornamentation cultivated at St. Martin's under Alcuin. These manuscripts are the Leyden Nonius Marcellus (No. 26), the St. Cyr Gospels (No. 27), the Bible of Monza (No. 29), the Gospels of Adalbaldus (No. 30), the Vatican Livy (No. 16), B. N. 1451, *Canones* (No. 44), and Troyes 1742, Alcuin, *de Virtutibus et Vitiis* (No. 38). Those that contain ornament (that is, all but No. 16) agree notably in color-scheme and in the use of bird- and beast-forms as part of the design in initials or in canon tables.[3] All of these books except Nos. 38 and 44, had been shown on good evidence to be books of Tours,[4] and the character of both script and ornament in Nos. 38 and 44 prompted Köhler to include these manuscripts in the list. If they may be so included, two positive dates are won; for No. 44 is generally supposed to have been written in 796 and No. 38 contains a work of Alcuin's, composed possibly in 799 but more probably between 801 and 804. From the dates of these two manuscripts, then, we may definitely attach this particular style to Tours in Alcuin's day.

Kinship in illumination is matched in these books with kinship of script. This point is, of course, made by Köhler and may be made yet more precisely. In general, the scribes, like the artists, do not flout Merovingian habits but retain and elaborate them. The birds and beasts of the initials are Merovingian; [5] so are the cursive ligatures and

1. On Alcuin's relation to script, I would again refer the reader to Beer's masterly discussion (especially *op. cit.*, p. 54), and to the remarks of Janitschek (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 74) on Alcuin as the founder of the art of illumination at Tours.
2. "Turonische Handschriften aus der Zeit Alkuins" (1926).
3. Ibid., p. 173.
4. Ibid., p. 176.
5. See, e. g., Paris B. N., N. A. lat. 1598 (Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen*, Tafeln 76 ff.).

the open *a*, retained and embellished in a manner suggestive of archaistic movements that were going on in other scriptoria, like Reichenau and Corbie, at about the same time. A certain large elegance is apparent; the letters *r* and *s* and the ligatures *ct*, *rt*, and *st*, are made with generous, sweeping curves.

The semiuncial is likewise of a fanciful and archaistic sort. It continues and elaborates the tendency that we have noted in the Pre-alcuinian semiuncial. The tops of the shafts of *b*, *d*, *h*, and *l* and the bases of those of *p* and *q* are often adorned with caps or forks. The letters *r* and *s*, as in the minuscule, are large and stately. The rounded ɒ of the earlier semiuncial is retained. The *g* is often rather that of minuscule than of semiuncial, save that it ends in a long descending flourish; it is a new form devised expressly, it would seem, for this "Embellished" script.[1] Many of the books in this class, however, neglect semiuncials;[2] those which elaborate it are possibly the later members.[3]

In the uncials, there is not so much innovation. Rustic capitals are rather rare. In some manuscripts, their presence may be due to the script of the original.[4] When they occur, they may be made in a rather fanciful way.[5] Sometimes they are true to type,[6] though not made with the slim elegance characteristic of those in the Regular Style. Square capitals of the pure and monumental sort are rare; they are generally adorned with forks and flourishes or mixed with uncial and other forms.

Among the abbreviations, the regular use of t̃ for *tur* should be noted. The Ruling, except for a few accidental cases,[7] is 2 or 4 O. S.

The species "Embellished Merovingian," it will be seen, is easy to define. A book of this sort will contain one or more of the following features: entangled beasts or birds in its ornamental initials and canon tables, mixed and fanciful majuscules, Embellished semiuncials and Embellished cursive. It is not so easy to be sure that a particular book should be included in this category. There may be no illumination; the semiuncial may seem "Ornate," in the Pre-alcuinian manner,

1. See e. g., Plate XL. 2, *passim*.
2. E. g., Nos. 25 and 26.
3. E. g., No. 27.
4. As No. 25.
5. E. g., Plate XXXVIII. 1.
6. Nos. 34 and 37.
7. See above, pp. 16 f.

rather than "Embellished" and the cursive not "Embellished" but merely "Improved."[1] The last is true, I believe, of No. 16, the Vatican Livy, which has no ornamental initials, plays little part in Köhler's discussion, and really should have no place in the category that he has defined. It represents rather the cruder material from which the Embellished Merovingian Style, and the Regular Style, too, as we shall see, were developed.

Moreover, as is indicated in the assortment of the books of this class, some members show a noteworthy approach to the Regular Style or an attainment of it. Thus in No. 38 (Troyes 1742), which Köhler rightly, I think, considers Alcuinian, one of the hands is in Embellished Cursive but the other is Regular, with only a few lingering cursive traits, and the square capitals are true to the ancient type revived in the Regular Style. No. 36 (B. N. 260) is likewise a book that, according to Köhler, stands near to the date of Alcuin's revision of the Bible; indeed, if the surmise of an eighteenth-century cataloguer is correct, its date is 807.[2] Not only Embellished Cursive but Improved Cursive and Regular may be seen in the minuscule, and the simple, as well as the fanciful, treatment of square capitals and uncials is observed. If we may include No. 46 (Valenciennes 518) in the list, we may also note in that book the same confluence of styles. Finally, the Gospels of Adalbaldus, though they belong to the present class in the illumination and the minuscules, are Regular in square capitals, uncials, and semiuncials. The earlier book of Adalbaldus (No. 31) — if I am right in regarding it as an earlier book of his — shows a style that is just emerging from the Improved Cursive, with only touches of the new embellishments in script and in art.

As usual, the dated books are hard to find. No. 44 (B. N. 1451) is generally ascribed to the year 796 on account of a chronological note that it contains with the mention of this date at the end of a series.[3] This is by no means conclusive evidence: such a note could

1. No. 29.
2. But see below, pp. 111 f.
3. Fol. 7: Ab exordio mundi usque ad diluvium . . . a passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi usque ad sedem beatissimi Marcellini Papae sunt anni CCLXXVI menses VIIII. De apostolato iam facto Christi martyris Marcellini usque tempus gloriosissimi domni Karoli regis XXV anno regni eius hoc est usque Kal. april. sunt anni CCCCXC et menses III.

easily have been copied at a later time. The manner of the script seems altogether later and not quite that of the School of Tours. No. 38 (Troyes 1742) gives us a *terminus post quem*, the date of Alcuin's treatise on the virtues and the vices (801–804). No. 40 (Cambrai 295) was a present from Hildowardus, Bishop of Cambrai, who is mentioned in 813, 814, and 816. Though, as I believe, it is not a book of Tours, it is chronologically valuable, since it shows that the Embellished Merovingian Style as cultivated at Tours had exerted a powerful influence over some other monastery during the second decade of the ninth century.

It is obvious that some of the books in the present category are later than others. Köhler puts No. 38 (Troyes 1742) at the head of the group with No. 26 (Leyden Nonius), No. 27 (St. Cyr Gospels), and No. 16 (Vatican Livy) following, while No. 29 (Bible of Monza) and No. 30 (Gospels of Adalbaldus) are the books of latest date. I have indicated my views about the Vatican Livy and would add merely that I am not at all sure that the others (save No. 38) can be thus placed. Further investigation may determine that order. For the moment we may be sure, helped by Köhler's demonstration of the main point, that over twenty of the books of Tours illustrate one or more features of the Embellished Merovingian Style and that they range from about the time that Alcuin came to Tours to about two decades after his death.[1]

As with the books of the preceding period, we have scanty means for distinguishing the styles of the three establishments at Tours. Four manuscripts (Nos. 26, 27, 29, 30) are definitely associated with St. Martin's, and to them I think No. 37 may be added (Vat. Pal. lat. 153), on account of the similarity of some of the hands in that book with those in the Vatican Livy (No. 16). Only one book, so far as I know, comes from St. Gatian's (No. 34), and only one (No. 24) from Marmoutier. Possibly a comparison of these manuscripts with those of St. Martin's might be instructive.

1. For a comment on Köhler's article by Weinberger, see *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1927, pp. 1405–06.

History of the Script

IVb. *The Regular Style*

The nature of this script, which is at once a revival and a reform, has already been described.[1] The effort to distinguish the different varieties on a clear and systematic basis naturally results in the more thoroughgoing practice of them all. In particular, rustic capital and semiuncial come to their own. The former is used in the more characteristic books, chiefly for the modest function of an *Explicit*, while the stately square capitals are employed to head the hierarchy at the beginning of a book or important section. Mixed majuscules are exceedingly rare; their presence in a book classed as Regular indicates a fairly early date.[2] The employment of semiuncial in a systematic way becomes for the first time a necessity; there are few books of the Regular Style that do not show some semiuncial. Of course, the innovation was not accomplished at a stroke; some scribes were slow to conform. We have already noted a number of books that illustrate both the Regular and the Embellished Merovingian Styles. Other examples will be found in the present grouping,[3] along with those that still show an adherence to the Improved Cursive variety. In all that are here treated at least the Reformed minuscule appears, even though it may be accompanied by the other varieties. The main deficiencies are always noted in the descriptions. If a book is listed as Regular without further remark, it may be taken for granted that it has most or all of the features of the new style as described above.[4]

The period extends from Alcuin's time to about 820. I have not attempted a chronological arrangement of the books within these limits. Other things being equal, the presence of Improved Cursive along with the Regular script indicates a date nearer to Alcuin's time than to 820. That is where I am still inclined to place the Bibles of Bamberg and Zürich (Nos. 47 and 63). The Bible of Berne (No. 73), on account of its ruling, probably belongs in the following period, in

1. See above, pp. 40 ff.
2. E. g., No. 49.
3. For the Embellished Merovingian illumination, see Nos. 54 and 57. The Embellished Cursive Style appears in No. 49.
4. Pages 40 ff.

which Köhler would set all three. A comparative study of the script of these books is an urgent necessity.[1]

A small minuscule is used for the Capitula in Bibles, as in the Pre-alcuinian period. In one book (No. 67, B. N. 6115) the entire text is written in a small minuscule, though not so small as that employed for Capitula. Some of the hands of the Morgan Gospels (No. 35) likewise approach the capitulary style.

The ruling of the books of this class is regularly O. S. The exceptions that occur are all of the accidental sort.[2]

Signatures are put almost invariably in the centre of the last page of a gathering. Only No. 69 (Tours 289) has them at the right of the page. The general practice is to use the numeral alone, without decoration. Sometimes the letter q, with or without a stroke above it, is prefixed, and in one case, No. 69 (Tours 289), the numeral is decorated.[3]

In two of the books, the new punctuation [4] has made its appearance.[5] These books are on the border-line between this and the following period; the nature of the script induces me to list them here.

The same remark may be made with reference to the 2-symbol for *tur*. Its presence, though not its systematic use, is characteristic of some of the books at the beginning of this period. It recurs in small amounts in at least one of those at the end, the Codex Memmianus of Suetonius (No. 67); in those of the following period, it is in contest with the apostrophe-symbol, and in those of the Mid-century it has prevailed. The use of ṫ for *tus* occurs for the first time, so far as my observation goes, in No. 67—and there only once, when required in an emergency. The Regular list is exceeded in one of the books (No. 68, B. N. 7502), owing to the Insular character of the original from which the manuscript was copied.

For only one of the books can we appeal to a date furnished by external evidence. No. 56 (B. N. 10848) is pinned down to the latter

1. Corssen (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 36) assigns the Bamberg and the Zürich Bibles to the same period as that of the Grandval. Janitschek (*Ibid.*, pp. 74 ff.), while admitting that there is no proof that any of the so-called Alcuinian Bibles were written under the direction of Alcuin, believes that the Zürich book is nearest to the "Ur-typus." The Bamberg Bible, though marking in its illumination "einen erheblichen Fortschritt" over that of Zürich, is placed by him in the same general period as that book. For the opinion of various palaeographers who regard the Bamberg Bible as genuinely Alcuinian, see *The Vatican Livy*, p. 23.

2. See above, pp. 16 ff.

3. See above, pp. 19 f.

4. See above, pp. 30 f.

5. Nos. 53 and 64.

part of the period (no earlier than 816), though its general features do not incline me to number it among the very latest books. From a book of the following period, the *Comes* of Chartres, written by Audradus (No. 74), we may surmise that this scribe and poet, who was writing in the Regular Style at about his fortieth year, may have practised the same manner considerably before that time, possibly as early as the latter days of Alcuin, when Audradus would have been about twenty. But such evidence is nothing substantial.

The books that belonged surely to St. Martin's and presumably were written there are No. 58 (N. A. lat. 1595) and No. 67 (B. N. 6115). In all probability, the Bibles of Bamberg and Zürich (Nos. 47 and 63) were products of the same scriptorium, and with them I would associate the Berne Virgil (No. 64) and the Boulogne St. Augustine (No. 65). The latter book, owing to the connection of its hands with those of No. 17 (Tours 10) and No. 13 (B. N. 5581), I should place early in this period, were it not for the ruling. We see in it, therefore, the work of scribes who had submitted to the Reform and who were still at work at least some twenty years after they had begun to write. Similarly, the later work of some of the scribes of the Vatican Livy may probably be seen in No. 58 (N. A. lat. 1595).

From Marmoutier come No. 53 (B. N. 9397) and No. 55 (B. N. 9735), both parts of Marmoutier 112. Owing to the diversity of their contents, the latter volume must have been a composite affair. Either they are fairly early books, or the Reform was not effected quite so early at Marmoutier as at St. Martin's. A somewhat later book of Marmoutier is No. 69 (Tours 289), in which we note the sparing use of semiuncials.

It is possibly at Marmoutier that a group of Bibles was written, all of which show early traits and, as the contents of certain quires indicate, were copied from the same original.[1] With them we must place, for the same reason, No. 70 (Angers 1–2), a book probably of the following period. However, the similarity of one of the hands in No. 50 with that of Amalricus, the scribe of the Bible of Monza (No. 29), indicates that the former book was written at St. Martin's. Possibly they all were. Or possibly a "normal text" of St. Martin's was

1. Nos. 49, 50, 57. See above, p. 31.

loaned for copying to Marmoutier from time to time. The presence in No. 49, No. 70 and No. 35 (Morgan Gospels) of the same hand, markedly of the Embellished Cursive Style, suggests that these books are clearly from the same workshop. A pretty problem is here, for the solution of which considerably more investigation, comparison, and analysis are indispensable.

The works copied under Alcuin and his successor amply indicate a flourishing growth of Christian humanism. There are seven Bibles,[1] six copies of the Gospels,[2] two Evangelistaries[3] and one Psalter.[4] There are theological works and commentaries on the Scriptures by St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. John of Constantinople, and Bede.[5] Lives and passions of the saints are copied,[6] and there are works on canon and civil law.[7] The study of *Grammatica*, including Priscian, is cultivated,[8] and that means that the ancient authors were read, among them Cicero, *Orations* (No. 25), *De Amicitia* (No. 39), Suetonius (No. 67), Virgil (No. 64), with Nonius Marcellus (No. 26) for a combined dictionary and encyclopaedia. I have often been tempted to the conjecture that Alcuin despite some of his anti-Virgilian remarks, was responsible for an edition of Virgil's text, represented today by the somewhat later copy now at Berne (No. 64). The *Martinellus* is a favorite, as ever,[9] and perhaps the chief reason for copying Gregory of Tours's *Liber Miraculorum* (No. 59) was that it contains a tribute to St. Martin. Of Alcuin's own works there are but two, the *Liber de Virtutibus et de Vitiis* (No. 38) and the *Expositio in Johannem*. It is surprising that not more copies of Alcuin's writings exist today that we can surely call products of the scriptoria of Tours. I have examined not a few manuscripts of Alcuin in the hope of adding to my list of the books of Tours, but invariably without success. Some other investigator may be more fortunate.

1. Nos. 29, 33, 47, 49, 50, 57, 63.
2. Nos. 23, 27, 30, 35, 36, 41.
3. Nos. 32, 60.
4. No. 28.
5. Nos. 24, 34, 37, 40, 43 (?), 58, 65, 66, 69.
6. Nos. 55, 61.
7. Nos. 44 (?), 45 (?), 54.
8. Nos. 52, 68.
9. Nos. 31, 46, 51, 56, 62.

History of the Script

PERIOD V. THE RÉGIME OF FRIDUGISUS

Fridugisus, named by the dying Alcuin as his successor, became abbot of St. Martin's, if not immediately, at least within a few years,[1] and remained abbot till his death in 834. Some of the books that I have treated in the preceding section were done under his direction. They represent, however, a style, or rather styles, which, I have endeavored to show, were started in the régime of Alcuin. It is natural to suppose that the favored pupil would seek first of all to maintain the methods he had learned from his master. But he not only maintained but improved. His scribes, and notably among them Adalbaldus, discarded the crudities and the archaisms of the Improved Cursive and Embellished Merovingian Styles, accepted the principles of the Regular manner, and carried it to a triumphant conclusion.

This progress was most conspicuous in the latter part of Fridugisus's administration. The books included in the present section were written, in my estimation, not much earlier than 820 and not much later, if any, than 834.[2] We may attribute to that abbot, therefore, the inception of what I have called the Perfected Style. This reaches its acme in the Mid-century, with books like the Vivian Bible (No. 116) and the Gospels of Lothaire (No. 119), but its presence is no less apparent in the Grandval Bible (No. 77) and other products of the scriptorium of Fridugisus.

There are lingering traces, none the less, of earlier habits. Cursive traits still exist in some of the minuscule hands.[3] The semiuncial is now and then decorated in the archaic manner;[4] the majuscules may still, now and then, be mixed. But, in general, the varieties are true to type, and they are often presented in hierarchical successions with rustic capitals particularly favored for *Explicits*.[5]

As in the preceding periods, a smaller sort of minuscule is often used in Capitula, and in several manuscripts of an informal sort is

1. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 163.
2. Some that I have placed in the present category should perhaps be listed under IVB (e. g., No. 70, Angers 1–2?) and correspondingly, some or all of the books that I have called later members of the preceding group may rather deserve treatment here.
3. E. g., No. 84. Cf. also No. 100.
4. E. g., Nos. 76 and 87.
5. Rustic capital occasionally shows the K-form of H, e. g., in No. 89. The history of this form in Carolingian script needs special study.

even used for the text.[1] We have noticed a smallish minuscule in some of the books of the preceding period, like the Memmianus of Suetonius (No. 67), but never so small, to the best of my observation, as the variety that we now meet. A new font has been invented, to which I shall refer as "Capitulary Script" or "tiny Tours." Its history seems to be this. It was first used, even before Alcuin, for Capitula. Then, under Alcuin or a bit later, the Psalms and the Gospels, if part of a Bible, were written in this smaller lettering, perhaps because there were so many Psalters or Evangelaries that these would be used for reading rather than the bulky Bibles. The dimensions of the latter could thus be somewhat reduced by writing small the text of the Psalms and the Gospels. No disrespect intended on this account! Finally, this tiny font was used for other texts, with the prime motive of saving space.

In various minor respects, the period under consideration is one of transition. It is between about 820 and about 835 that the New Style of ruling comes in.[2] It is found in all or in parts of about half the manuscripts of the present group. This is also the time when the 2-symbol for *tur* engages in a struggle with the apostrophe-symbol and finally drives it off the field. Lindsay sets 820 as the approximate date for the introduction of $\dot{t}$,[3] and since several of the books ruled whole or in part N. S. have only or mainly $t' = tur$, we may infer that the new system was invented much nearer to 820 than to 835, and possibly even a little earlier still.[4] It is also just about this time, if my observation is correct, that the new method of punctuation is adopted.[5] Another trait to watch is the use of the Greek c for s in the sacred symbols for *Iesus* and *Christus*, together with the preference of the capital for the small *h* in the former symbol. This practice resulted, as we have seen, from a suggestion of Amalarius, the liturgist,[6] about 825 or so, but his brethren of Tours were slow to take up with it. They allow the large H now and then in the books of the present

1. E. g., Nos. 83, 85, 87.
2. *Palae. Lat.*, V, 68. See above, pp. 11, 16.
3. *Notae Latinae*, p. 377.
4. *Palae. Lat.*, V, 68. See Nos. 78, 81, 89, and above, p. 16. The evidence of No. 65 is also important, especially if I am right in assigning it to the preceding period.
5. See Nos. 72, 79, 80, 86, 94, and above, p. 31.
6. See above, p. 26.

period,[1] but Greek c, with which Amalarius is specially concerned, is found first, if I am correct, in the books of the following period.[2]

Other abbreviations are worth noting, particularly the incipient tendency to enlarge somewhat the list of symbols that I have termed Regular.[3] Of particular interest is the use of the symbol t́ to denote *tus*. That use may perhaps have been known earlier in the scriptoria of Tours, but avoided to prevent confusion with *tur*. We noticed that in an urgent case it was employed in No. 67 (B. N. 6115), and it appears, sometimes in similarly urgent cases, in several of the books of the present period.[4]

It is interesting to follow these different clues in the book of Fridugisus and to find their evidence mutually corroborative. They must all be applied with discretion, and with due allowance for the persistence of former habits. Thus we find only the O. S. ruling in a number of books that can hardly be earlier than 820, or later than the Mid-century, including even some of the more sumptuous books.[5] Similarly, we note the presence of t́ for *tur* in one book that must have been written late in the period, if within the period at all.[6] This isolated case hardly detracts from our tentative inference,[7] that the combination of t́ = *tur* and N. S. ruling denotes an early date within the present period. In general, this varied evidence allows us to place with tolerable certainty the books here included — to distinguish them from those that follow and those that precede.

The ornamentation of these books of Fridugisus shows a great advance over those of the early part of the century — a story that is not for me to tell. From the Mid-century books we see that much was still to be learned, particularly in the use of harmonious color-schemes. I will note merely one detail, the occasional use of a blue-black ink in titles.[8] This is not to be found, if my observations are correct, in the books of Tours before this time. It was used in some of those of Lyons

1. Nos. 74, 82, 96.
2. It does appear in No. 96, which I have assigned — by no means with certainty — to the present period.
3. See Nos. 74, 75, 76, 77, 85, 86, 87, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94.
4. Nos. 77, 86, 87, 90 (in the form t́), 92, 93, 94, 100, 101. It is also found in No. 64, assigned tentatively to the preceding period.
5. Nos. 72, 75, 79, 83, 84, 85, 88, 91, 92, 94, 100, 101.
6. No. 71.
7. See above, p. 16.
8. Nos. 75, 79, 80.

in the ninth century[1] and continued to be used in some of the Mid-century products of Tours.

As usual, there are few actual dates to which internal evidence may be attached, and all of them give merely a *terminus post quem*. No. 83 (B. N. 5516) was written after 829, but not long after, it would appear. No. 71 (Bamberg H. J. IV 12) was written after 832; again I should infer that its date was not long after. No. 75 (Laon 220) was written after the date of the first edition of the work of Amalarius, that is, 820–823 — and again I believe, not long after. This book, according to Köhler, is closely connected in its ornamentation with the Berne Bible (No. 73) and with B. M. Add. 11848 (No. 78), the latter being probably one of the earliest members of the present group.[2] The evidence from these dates, then, has at least a subsidiary value and, so far as it goes, confirms the deductions made from the character of the script.

Though dates are scanty, at least one personality is prominently clear in this period — that of the most accomplished scribe of Tours whose name we happen to know, Adalbaldus.[3] We know from his subscription in the Quedlinburg *Martinellus* (No. 88) that he wrote under Fridugisus. A book signed with this name has already attracted our attention, B. N. 17227 (No. 30); it is obviously of an earlier date than the latter part of Fridugisus's régime. After much deliberation, I would regard this work as one of the first products of the same scribe rather than attribute it to an earlier monk of the same name, although much may be said for the latter possibility. If we are dealing with one person, he is Adalbaldus, No. 58 on the St. Gall list, a contemporary, a younger contemporary, of the scribes of the Vatican Livy. If that book was done just before Alcuin came to Tours, say 795, or not long after he got there, but before the Regular Style was put into practice, Adalbaldus might have been from 20 to 25 years old, still serving his apprenticeship in the scriptorium; at any rate, he was not asked to collaborate in the writing of the Livy. Not long after, how-

1. E. A. Lowe, "The Codex Bezae of Lyons," *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXV (1924), 270–334. In a letter, Lowe suggests that since the same sort of ink is found in Vat. Reg. lat. 317, *saec.* VIII, perhaps the scribes of Tours were imitating an earlier practice.

2. See above, p. 54, n. 4.

3. On the work of this scribe, see Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, pp. 80 (236) ff.; Berger, pp. 244 ff.; Bosseboeuf, pp. 61 ff.; *The Vatican Livy*, p. 33.

ever, he was assigned to an important task, the copying of a *Martinellus*, which we have in No. 31 (B. N. 18312). The style is hard to classify. In general it continues, in the minuscule, the Improved Cursive of the scribes of the Livy, though it has more distinction than any of the hands of that book. Not all too long thereafter, I take it, was written the copy of the Gospels that bears Adalbaldus's name (No. 30). That, too, is hard to classify. Köhler includes it with reason, on account of the ornament, in the group of books that I call Embellished Merovingian, yet in the script there are moments when an approach to the Regular Style is attained. In any case, it is a most promising work. It may well have been done under Alcuin, or not long after his demise.

At some time later, Adalbaldus came over to the Reform, devoted his best energies to it, and achieved what we have a right to call the Perfected Style. An example is the manuscript of Quedlinburg (No. 88). Again he was called to write a *Martinellus*, which it is highly interesting to contrast with his earlier production. The elegance of the art, which matches well with that of the Grandval Bible (No. 77), speaks for the latter part of Fridugisus's régime. And yet we note that some of the scribe's earlier habits persist. The New Style in ruling and that in punctuation are not adopted, nor does the 2-symbol, or any symbol, for *tur* appear. There are also some traces of the Ornate manner in the semiuncials. I should place the book no later than 820, and it may conceivably have been done before that time. Adalbaldus, on this supposition, was about 45 years old and in his prime. If I am not too bold in attributing the Gospels of St. Gozlin, now in the Cathedral at Nancy (No. 79), to him, that is a somewhat later work. The Old Style of ruling is still observed and the apostrophe-symbol is regularly used for *tur*, but the scribe admits the 2-symbol occasionally. He has also adopted the new punctuation, and has at last worked free from Embellished Merovingian traits.

How long his activities lasted we can only guess; he could still have been under sixty at the death of his master, the abbot. One of his later products, apparently, is the copy of the letters of St. Jerome and St. Augustine (No. 91) that now, thanks to Libri, is divided between Paris and Tours. Here again, the ruling is Old Style,

and so is the punctuation, but $\dot{t}$ as well as t' appears. The work is not one of the scribe's most careful productions. He indulges in cursive traits, sprinklings of semiuncial and irregular abbreviations, as fancy prompts. He likes to kick up his heels now and then and to revert to the ways of his youth. Moments of such freedom are observable even in the Gospels of St. Gozlin.[1] His copy of Orosius (No. 99) unhappily has been lost, again thanks to Libri — all save the monogram, in which the scribe proudly calls himself *artifex*. We should infer that he had acquired considerable experience and reputation at the time. It is not like a monk — it is rather like an artist of the Renaissance — thus to give himself the glory. It is a far cry from the days of St. Benedict, when such advertisement would have involved its author in penance and a change of occupation.[2]

We thus can piece together from the monuments an orderly account of the development of a single scribe. It may perhaps seem easier, as I once believed,[3] to attribute the earlier work to the earlier Adalbaldus and the later work to the later Adalbaldus, No. 152 in the St. Gall list. In the latter case, however, we must assume that Adalbaldus No. II inherited the scribal mantle of No. I, as well as his name, and that from time to time he cultivated little archaisms that are not the survivals of youthful habit but chance freaks of playfulness. I now incline to the first supposition, and therefore would mark out the career of this admirable artist as beginning in the latter years of Alcuin and extending to the latter years, if not to the death, of Fridugisus. Five manuscripts can hardly account for the productions of such a scribe through such a stretch of years. We doubtless have lost a whole series of works — notable achievements in style and interesting monuments in the development of their creator. Perhaps some of them may yet be recognized in books that exist today.[4]

We get very little light on the manuscripts of this period done at Marmoutier or St. Maurice's. Only No. 92 (Tours 844, St. Gatian 152) might have been written at the latter place; there is nothing about it markedly different from the books that were certainly prod-

1. See, for instance, the sudden use of a semiuncial *g* in the midst of minuscule (Plate XCVIII. 1, l. 7).
2. See above, p. 21.
3. *The Vatican Livy*, p. 33.
4. Could No. 103 be one of them?

ucts of St. Martin's. Not a single book on the list comes from Marmoutier. We may mention as possibilities No. 70 (Angers 1-2) and No. 84 (B. N. lat. 5580).[1] If No. 50 (B. N. lat. 68) belongs in the Marmoutier group, then No. 93 (Troyes 29) may likewise be placed there, since these manuscripts show significant connections in their quire-contents. I am much more inclined, however, to ascribe both books to St. Martin's.

Certainly we have a clear picture of what the scribes of St. Martin's were accomplishing at this time. The works of Adalbaldus [2] and Audradus [3] were done at that monastery, and No. 83 (B. N. 5516) is a specimen of its less formal style. Of the remaining books, it seems natural, if not necessary, to ascribe to St. Martin's Nos. 71 (Bamberg Boethius), 73 (Berne Bible), 77 (Grandval Bible), 80 (Rorigo Bible), 90 (Vatican Apicius); in fact, except for the books listed as doubtful (Nos. 95-104), there is not one that is not intimately connected in style with the certain books of St. Martin's. Perhaps the other establishments had reached a like level of perfection; but our evidence does not permit us to say so.

Christian humanism is as notably exhibited in the books of the latter part of Fridugisus's régime and in that of his successor as under Alcuin. There are eight Bibles, in whole or in the greater part,[4] six Gospel-books,[5] and one *Liber Comitis* (No. 74). The standard work on liturgy by Amalarius was copied by his brethren (No. 75), and they likewise included a collection of sermons by Paulus Diaconus (No. 101). The Fathers are represented by St. Augustine (Nos. 91, 100) and St. Jerome (No. 91). For the history of the Church we note the chronicle of St. Jerome (No. 72) and the works of Orosius (Nos. 76, 99) and Hegesippus (No. 87 I). There is a copy of the *Liber Pontificalis* along with the Canons of a contemporary Council (No. 83).

The customary homage to St. Martin is not lacking.[6] The seven liberal arts are represented by Boethius's *Arithmetica* (No. 71), and they are treated also in the general encyclopaedia of St. Isidore

1. See the descriptions of these books, and above, p. 31.
2. Nos. 88, 91, 99 and (?) 79.
3. No. 74.
4. Nos. 70, 73, 77, 80, 93, 95, 97, 103.
5. Nos. 78, 79, 81, 82, 96, 102.
6. Nos. 84, 88, 98 (?), 104.

(No. 92). The work of Nonius Marcellus is found again (No. 94). St. Jerome's chronicle, mentioned above under Church History, is no less important for ancient history in general (No. 72), and a special interest in Alexander the Great is indicated by the works of Quintus Curtius and "Esopus" (No. 76). The other ancients are Cicero, *Verrines* and *Rhetorica* (No. 85), Servius and Tiberius Claudius Donatus on Virgil (Nos. 86, 89), and the culinary Apicius (No. 90). In determining the affection for the ancients felt by our monastic scribes, we should consider not merely the authors whom they chose to copy, but the fancy, wit and loving care that they devoted to the reproduction and the ornamentation of the text. The copy of Boethius's *Arithmetica* and that of Apicius are impressive monuments of such devotion.

PERIOD VI. THE MID-CENTURY

This is the period of the highest achievement in the illumination and the script of Tours. Illumination was the slower art to develop. It was respectable, but only respectable, when Adalbaldus and other scribes were turning out the admirable lettering of the Quedlinburg *Martinellus* and the Grandval Bible. In the great monuments of the Mid-century — the Vivian Bible (No. 116) and the Gospels of Lothaire (No. 119)— the balance is exactly maintained. Both script and illumination have reached their topmost peak. The former, which had ascended more promptly, was the first to decline. The latter maintained a high standard, while the former was in the process of degeneration. The Mid-century period, as I roughly plot it, begins with the abbacy of Adalardus in 834,[1] through that of Vivian (845–851) down to about 860. One might be tempted to end it abruptly with the burning of St. Martin's by the Normans in 853.[2] That was a dire calamity, yet even if everything perished in the flames, I can hardly imagine that splendid books utterly ceased to be produced at St. Martin's.

It is hardly necessary, and hardly possible, to describe the excellencies of these books of the inner circle. Cursive and Embellished Merovingian traits have virtually disappeared.[3] Semiuncial is lavishly

1. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 164 ff. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
3. There is a touch of the latter in No. 112. Does it belong in the preceding period?

employed; in one instance, No. 113 (Leyden, lat. 1685), it is used for the body of a text, whereas ordinarily it is confined to headings, Capitula, and prefaces. The larger varieties are carefully distinguished and made exquisite each after its kind. Initial hierarchies of script abound. All this is implied in the term "Perfected." Of course, some simpler books were produced, as in any period. "Tiny Tours" is used for the body of a text in No. 123 (Tours 106). A highly interesting monument of art and of humanism is the Bargello fan (No. 110), the ivory handles of which are carved with scenes from Virgil's *Eclogues*. It is not certain that it was made at Tours; if not, some other centre had as high a regard for beauty, and for the ancient poet.

The ruling is done in the New Style in all the manuscripts of this period in which I have examined this matter. In the books of St. Martin's, *tur* is abbreviated with the apostrophe only in rare cases, which presumably were reproduced from the original.[1] The Sacramentary of Raganaldus (No. 105), however, shows apparently that this symbol still had a certain vogue at Marmoutier.[2] In a few manuscripts, the 2-symbol is made in a graceful way, with the stroke sweeping upward in a dainty curve.[3] Possibly such manuscripts are later members of the group. At any rate, the same form occurs in certain books that seem to belong in the following period.[4] In the sacred names, the use of capital H and the Greek C has at last become fashionable, though these forms are not universally employed. As in the preceding period, certain manuscripts show some abbreviations outside the regular pale,[5] but the total amount of extravagation is not great.

The new punctuation is continued, though it is not found in every book.[6] Signatures are even harder to find than in the books of the preceding period — not that they were not used, but that margins were so sumptuous that the lower parts in which the signatures were placed have almost always been cut away. Enough traces survive to show that the general style of signature was the same as before — the numeral, with or without Q, placed in the centre of the lower margin. Instances of signatures in Tironian and of an abbreviated *Requisitum*

1. See Nos. 116 and 119.
2. Was No. 106 written there?
3. Nos. 115, 117, 118.
4. Nos. 131 (see Plate CXLIV. 2, l. 24), 133.
5. Nos. 106, 107, 114, 115, 117, 123.
6. It appears e. g. in Nos. 115, 116, 119, 121.

occur.[1] In titles, blue ink is sometimes used, as in books of the preceding period.[2]

The period of the Mid-century is fairly well staked out with definite dates. The First Bible of Charles the Bald (No. 116) was written in the abbacy of the donor Vivian, 845–851. There is no obvious sign in the script — in fact, quite the contrary — that it was begun at an earlier date. No. 119 (the Gospels of Lothaire) is similarly bounded by the years 843 and 855. No. 107 (The Gospels of Prüm) was likewise a present to the Emperor Lothaire. Tours 106 (No. 123) was written after 842, the probable date of the work that it contains; the nature of the script indicates a date within this period rather than one later. No. 114 (Leyden Voss. lat. F. 113) contains a treatise dedicated to Charles the Bald; again the character of the script would lead us to suppose that the manuscript was written early rather than late in the régime of that monarch.

These various books present a clear picture of the style of the Mid-century; they form a centre about which other manuscripts may readily be grouped. Finally, there is the Sacramentary of Autun (No. 105), written for Raganaldus, abbot of Marmoutier, about 844. No striking differences appear in the script practised at Marmoutier at that time from the style of St. Martin's. Apparently, the apostrophe symbol for *tur* persisted longer in the former place, but even that is not certain, since the frequent occurrences in the Sacramentary may possibly have been taken over from the original. I will leave experts to decide if there are any essential differences in the style of illumination.

The Sacramentary of Raganaldus is the only book on the list that we know definitely was written at Marmoutier. From St. Gatian, we have none at all. St. Martin's, as usual, is better attested. The Vivian Bible (No. 116) and Tours 106 (No. 123) stand at opposite poles of elegance. In the same class with the Vivian Bible are various books not definitely ascribed to St. Martin's that were almost surely written there, such as the Gospels of Prüm (No. 107), the Gospels of Laon (No. 112), the Gospels now owned by Mr. Beatty (No. 115), and the Du Fay Gospels (No. 121). However, the Sacramentary of Raganaldus

1. See No. 123, and above, pp. 21, 24.
2. Nos. 108, 116, 118, 121.

is a splendid book. Perhaps we shall learn from Köhler and other experts whether other manuscripts of this period should be associated with it from the character of their illumination. Soon after it was finished, Vivian became abbot of both St. Martin's and Marmoutier.[1] We can well imagine that a confluence of the styles of the two scriptoria ensued. But what had been the Marmoutier style before that time?

It is a curious fact that in this period, when the art and the script of the books of Tours reach their acme, not only is the number of those preserved less than that of those in the two periods preceding, but also the variety and the breadth of intellectual interest are less notable. There are only two complete Bibles[2] and one Psalter (No. 122). The favorite part of Scripture for copying is the Gospels, of which no less than ten copies exist.[3] There is a Gregorian Sacramentary (No. 105), a fragment of a life of St. German (No. 113) and, of course, the *Martinellus* (Nos. 108, 120). The ancient training is vouched for by a Priscian (No. 106), and a sample of Christian humanism is offered by a miscellany (No. 114), which includes, with works of St. Augustine, the geographical treatise of Aethicus Cosmographus and that ancient romance, *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*. The only commentary is that of Hrabanus Maurus on St. Matthew (No. 123), possibly a favorite at Tours.[4]

If such a list is a trustworthy cross-section of the activities of the scriptorium, one is tempted to infer that both the Authors and the Fathers have been thrust aside and all energies concentrated on the making of beautiful books, the Gospels being selected not primarily because of their sacredness, but because they furnished the artist with an easy subject. Art for art's sake in the ninth century!

PERIOD VII. THE POST-MID-CENTURY STYLE

After Vivian, no striking personality appears among the abbots of Tours, excepting Herardus in 858, the zealous maintainer of right liturgical practices, whose activities must have led to the production

1. *Gallia Christiana*, XIV, 198 f.
2. Nos. 116, 117. There are fragments in Nos. 125, 126, 127.
3. Nos. 107, 109, 111, 112, 115, 118, 119, 121, 124, 128.
4. See also No. 129.

of various liturgical books.[1] However, we have no certain information about these or about any important works undertaken in this period at the command of an abbot or a monarch. I include here a number of books in which the character of the script shows signs of deterioration. Possibly one or two of the books listed in the preceding section [2] should be brought down to this, and one or two of those included here [3] should be reckoned as Mid-century productions. It is hard to draw the line between this period, which covers roughly the seventh decade of the century, and the preceding period, especially since the illumination of some of the books included here is on a par with the art of the Mid-century — not with the very best, the unapproachable excellence of the Gospels of Lothaire, but with the general level of Mid-century production, which is high enough. As we have already seen, the ascending curves of the development of the art and the script of Tours are not quite parallel. One wave mounts to its height before the other.

No noticeable change appears in the script of Period VII, except the general flavor of decay. The fading away of elegance reduces the Perfected Style to a form like the Regular once more, without the latter's virility. The varieties of script are well represented and appropriately used, except that semiuncial is less frequent than before. Cursive traits may be detected a bit more frequently than in the Mid-century books, yet they are sporadic after all.

The New Style in ruling is still the almost universal practice, though there are signs that the Old Style is coming in again, that is, if we should say that it ever went completely out.[4] The New Style of punctuation is still practised, though I have noted it in only one book.[5] Quires are signed in the ancient way; the numeral sometimes has an angular bracket, /$\overline{\text{III}}$,[6] and sometimes is preceded by Q, $\overline{\text{Q}}$, or $\acute{\text{Q}}$,[7] placed in the centre of the lower margin.

Among the abbreviations, there are no signs of t̃ for *tur*. This symbol has now become well-nigh regular for *tus*, the form with the angu-

1. Bosseboeuf, p. 106. 2. E. g., No. 117 (?).
3. Nos. 131, 132, 133 (?).
4. It is found in part of No. 129, and in all of Nos. 130 and 138; the last-named book, however, is probably not of Tours.
5. No. 132. 6. E. g., No. 129. 7. No. 132.

lar apostrophe t' being also found.[1] The 2-form with the delicately waving up-stroke that we noticed in certain books of the Mid-century reappears.[2] The use of Greek letters in IHS IHC XPC is well-nigh the rule. One curiosity, the ear-mark of a special scribe, is the superfluous use of a stroke above the symbol $\bar{o}\chi$ for *orum*.[3] Finally, though a few exceptions to the Regular abbreviations of Tours may be noted, there is as yet no general tendency to relax the ancient norm.

There are no dated books of this period; nor have we material for distinguishing the work of the three chief scriptoria of Tours. The volume containing the three Sacramentaries, No. 135 (Tours 184 + B. N. lat. 9430), is perhaps from St. Gatian's.[4] In the second Sacramentary it illustrates the more elaborate, as No. 136 (Tours 309), from St. Martin's the less elaborate, work of the period. I am inclined to consider the scribe of the $\bar{o}\chi$-symbol as a member of St. Martin's. The list contains no books known to have come from Marmoutier.

As we survey the evidence thus far, we note in the earliest period representatives of all three scriptoria, but the material is too scanty and too diverse to make a comparative study profitable. It is even less profitable in the subsequent periods, in which only one conspicuous monument of Marmoutier survives, the Sacramentary of Raganaldus, and one of St. Gatian's, the Second Sacramentary in No. 135. Bosseboeuf [5] would distinguish the elegance of St. Martin's from the simplicity of St. Maurice's, giving Marmoutier a middle position between the other two. But the manuscripts which he cites as specimens of the work of St. Maurice's and Marmoutier are, with one exception,[6] books dating from the end of the ninth century down into the eleventh, and consequently are out of range of the famous products of St. Martin's, like the Vivian Bible, with which he compares them. Thus far, from its beginning to the end of its prime, the script of Tours is first and foremost, so far as our present knowledge goes, that of St. Martin's.

The nature of the books copied in this period indicates virtually the same situation as in that preceding, except that the total output

1. No. 135. 2. Nos. 131, 133, 143 A. See above, p. 61.
3. No. 131 (see Plate CXLIV. 1, l. 13), No. 133, No. 143 A, and in Period IX, No. 153.
4. No. 135, Sacramentary No. II. See below, p. 72.
5. Page 128. 6. No. 34.

is less. Even if some of the manuscripts assigned to Period VIII should be accepted as books of Tours — at least No. 143A must be — the general impression is not changed. We have but one Bible (No. 137), and three copies of the Gospels (Nos. 131, 132, 133). There are a Sacramentary (No. 135), a life of St. Filibert (No. 138), commentaries by St. Jerome (No. 130) and St. Gregory (No. 136), and as before, Hrabanus Maurus on St. Matthew (No. 129). The needs of the scriptorium have apparently been reduced to the lowest terms — the Bible, especially the Gospels, commentaries on the same, and a service book. Christian Fathers and Pagan authors are set aside. But of course there is a *Martinellus* (No. 134).

PERIOD VIII. TOURS AND THE FRANCO-SAXON STYLE

The influence of the schools of Tours on other centres of the scribal art is an accepted fact. In the Franco-Saxon variety, for instance, motives of Tours are combined with those of the English and Irish books in a new and splendid art, while for the script, the Perfected Style of Tours is taken as a model and further elaborated into a block-style almost as regular as that of the printed page. I have called this sort of minuscule "Martinian" to distinguish it from the genuine product of Tours; its nature and its history need further investigation.[1] It is surely not natural that while Tours was thus impressing its neighbors, it should itself remain impervious to any suggestions that might come from them, particularly after the advent of so captivating a style as the Franco-Saxon. The force of writers at Tours had been large enough, and enterprising enough, in the eighth century to cultivate an Irish manner along with the native style, and under Alcuin two very different tendencies were fostered. Why should the scriptoria of Tours be less hospitable to new ideas at a time when they seemed to have achieved their utmost and when other monasteries bade fair to forge ahead? In the opinion of at least some historians of art, an influence from the north of France was felt at Tours after the Mid-century.[2] We perhaps must add a second chapter on "The Irish at

1. See above, p. 9.
2. Janitschek, in *Ada-handschrift*, pp. 83 f.; Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, 320.

Tours," noting the presence of out-and-out Insular works,[1] as well as of its modified and more beautiful form, the Franco-Saxon Style.

This movement, if we may recognize its existence, begins early and runs side by side with the usual style of Tours. At least, if the Psalter of Lothaire (No. 139) is a product of Tours, — and it has some of the ear-marks, — here is a fine monument of illumination in which the Franco-Saxon element appears and which was produced before 855. No. 141 (Egerton 768) is an acknowledged masterpiece of Franco-Saxon illumination. Had we only the pages of script without the ornament, I believe that others besides myself would have recognized in it the Perfected Style of Tours. In No. 142 (B. N. 324), had the book no illumination, I should regard the script as characteristic of the Mid-century or of the period immediately succeeding. The Franco-Saxon element in the illumination of No. 144 (Vat. lat. 43) is obvious; so are the traits of the simpler style of Tours. Traube, judging, I suppose, mainly by the script, called the book "offenbar aus Tours." The script of No. 143 A (B. N. 13388) is the work, in whole or in part, of the $\overline{\text{or}}$ scribe,[2] and the illumination is, in general, clearly in the manner of Tours; and yet one of the initials shows a marked Franco-Saxon tendency. And it is surely in an acknowledged product of the School of Tours, that Janitschek finds traces of the influence of Corbie.[3]

Here, then, is a nucleus of manuscripts which with high possibility, or in some cases with certainty, may be regarded as books of Tours, and which likewise contain, some more, some less, abundant traces of the Franco-Saxon manner. The ruling is in some cases Old Style,[4] as seems to have been the practice, even for elaborate books, in the Franco-Saxon centres.[5] Its presence is, of course, no proof that a book is not of Tours, since its practice was not entirely abandoned when the New Style came in. In one book (No. 143), the "outside-inside" style found in some Insular works [6] occurs. In other books, the New Style is followed,[7] as we should expect in any group of manuscripts which on other grounds one would associate with the School of Tours. Simi-

1. No. 140.
2. See above, p. 65.
3. See *loc. cit.*, and No. 132.
4. Nos. 139, 140, 143, 144.
5. See above, p. 12, n. 1.
6. See above, p. 16.
7. Nos. 141, 142, No. 143 A.

larly, it is natural enough to find the new punctuation in two of these books.[1]

Among the abbreviations we note the constant use of $\hat{t}$ and the presence of Greek H or C or both in the sacred names.[2] The usual range of symbols is somewhat exceeded in two books,[3] while in one, Egerton 609 (No. 140), the Irish traits appear not only in the script, the text, and the illumination, but also in the abbreviations and the signatures.

To this little group of manuscripts (Nos. 139–144), of which some at least may be plausibly ascribed to Tours, I have attached with no little hardihood, five others, all of which, except the last, are among the best-known manuscripts of the time. The reader may well find incredible or absurd the suggestion that the Gospels of the Arsenal, the Vallicellan Bible, the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura, the Ottobonian Sacramentary, and so obviously a Franco-Saxon affair as Tours 23, were really the work of St. Martin's, St. Maurice's, or Marmoutier. No certain pronouncement is intended about any of these books, no positive ascription of them to Tours — and no positive denial that Tours was the place of their production.

PERIOD IX. THE END OF THE CENTURY

This period succeeds No. VII; for Period VIII, if we may regard its existence at all, is synchronous with Periods VI, VII, and IX, and represents sporadic appearances of Franco-Saxon tendencies in the scriptoria of Tours. Period IX is the *fin du siècle*, running from about 870 to 900, or, to choose a dramatic terminus, the burning of the basilica of St. Martin in 903. No important names have been recorded among the abbots of Tours to match those of Alcuin, Fridugisus, Adalardus, and Vivian, and no great monuments of art and script were produced. In some of the manuscripts of this period, we see an honest effort to maintain the proud traditions of the School of Tours, notably in the copy of the *Capitula* of Ansegisus, possessed by Mr. Beatty (No. 153). Several other books are also on a commendably high plane, and should

1. Nos. 139, 142. It is not in No. 143 A.
2. Nos. 139, 141, 142, 143 A.
3. Nos. 142, 144. The freedom of range in No. 143 A closely corresponds to that in Nos. 131, 133, 153.

anybody be tempted to accept the attribution of the Arsenal Gospels (No. 145) and the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura (No. 146) to Tours, the depreciatory judgment that I have just passed on this period must be considerably modified.

One may divide the books of this period into two classes.

1. First there are those that continue the Perfected Style, albeit in a degenerate condition. This I call Decadent Perfected. I am tempted to distinguish this sort from one in which the style is not thus shabby genteel, but has simply lost its elegance and reverted to the clear plainness of the Regular Style, whence the Perfected sprang. However, this distinction is easier to make in theory than to apply in practice. I will class the two varieties together under the name of Decadent Perfected.[1]

2. Most of the manuscripts show a still more violent reversion. It is a return to nature, a reaction from art, — the careful art thought out by Alcuin and his successors. There is a wholesale revival of Merovingian features — cursive forms, open *a*'s, mixed majuscules, and crudely decorated semiuncials. Semiuncials are sometimes sprinkled in with the minuscule and often they are not used at all. There is generally no effort to embellish these early traits, as at the beginning of the century. It is rather that the style of Tours had become tired of being good and resolved to kick over the traces. This is a characteristic mood of the period in other scriptoria as well. I will refer to the minuscule of this sort as Revived Cursive. My illustrations come chiefly from the books now in Tours. Not all of these, of course, were written in that place, but some must have been. The collection needs further study; it at least sets forth the tendencies of the time, in which the scriptoria of Tours had their share.[2]

While the Merovingian revival makes, in general, no pretence at elegance, a few of the books are well written,[3] the scribes seeking clarity though not embellishment. The cursive only rarely runs wild;[4] the wildest specimens occur in a manuscript that possibly did not come from Tours.[5] The "tiny" or Capitulary script is employed now and

1. See Nos. 153, 155 (Hand A), 161, 165, 166, 167, 168, 171.

2. Specimens of Revived Cursive may be found in nearly all of the books here listed except those just mentioned in Note 1. It also occurs in Hands B and C of No. 155.

3. See Nos. 162, 168. 4. No. 170 II. 5. Nos. 178, 179.

then,[1] and here and there we detect a "block" effect in the script, somewhat after the Franco-Saxon fashion.[2] Two of the most elegant varieties are found in manuscripts almost surely not of Tours, the Apocalypse of Cambrai and that of Trèves;[3] in the latter of these an Embellished semiuncial is employed systematically for the text. In general, during this period, semiuncial is neglected or misapplied.

In the ruling, we see a contrast between the two styles. N. S. is still practised. It is found, in whole or in part, in fourteen manuscripts on our list.[4] In the remaining seventeen, O. S. is found. Possibly in some of these cases, the books were written at other places. Even if this is so, sufficient evidence remains to prove a substantial increase in the use of O. S., — natural enough as a concomitant of the Merovingian Revival.

In the style of signatures nothing new appears. They are placed almost always in the centre[5] and consist of the numeral with or without the angular bracket at the left ($/\overline{\text{III}}$). Sometimes the numeral is preceded by Q or $\overline{\text{Q}}$. A few Tironian signatures appear[6] and the abbreviation for *requisitum est* (RQS ÷́) is found once.[7]

The abbreviations show many variations from the norm, which is evidently breaking down.[8] However, a goodly number of books stick to the ancient way, some indulging in a few, but only a few, of the irregular symbols.[9] In the *nomina sacra*, Greek H and C are sometimes found,[10] but apparently this habit is passing. In the preceding period, t̋ had become firmly established and t́ is regularly used for *tus*. Now, in conformity with the general return to primitive ways, t́ = *tur* reappears.[11] In some cases, the influence of Insular models may have been responsible for the change. In one case (No. 179), t̋ is corrected to t́! No one in the previous history of the script of Tours had, to the best of my observation, made such a correction. It is one of the signs

1. Nos. 155, 164, 172.
2. Nos. 153, 159.
3. Nos. 177, 181.
4. Nos. 150, 153, 155, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167 I and II, 168, 170 I, 179 I, 180 I.
5. In No. 173 in the right corner and in No. 180 in the left.
6. Nos. 172, 174.
7. No. 171. See above, pp. 23 ff.
8. See Nos. 150, 153, 157, 159, 160, 164, 166, 167 I and II, 169, 172, 173, 174, 178, 179 I.
9. All the books not mentioned in the preceding footnote.
10. Nos. 153, 156 (the correcting hand), 163, 165, 166, 167, 169.
11. Nos. 154, 162, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 178, 179 III, 180.

of lateness that brand the apparent primitiveness of this manuscript as artificial.

The "down-up" method of punctuation is found in only a few books.[1] Apparently it is going out.

The dated books of this period are but two. No. 153 was written after 873, but not long after. This date is of the utmost importance, for it shows that one of the chief scribes of Tours, the writer of two admirable books of the preceding period,[2] is still active and still true to type. He probably had opinions about the kind of work that his confederates were generally turning out at the time. The other dated book (No. 164) is a few years later, 877 or soon thereafter. It may possibly come from another scriptorium, but in any case it is important as a dated monument of the revival of cursive traits.

In general, this is a period of decline and fall for both script and illumination. The latter is almost always simple, not to say crude. Only a few books are elaborately illuminated. Three of the Sacramentaries [3] are evidently *éditions de luxe*, models of the best art of the time; nothing could more plainly indicate how low that art had fallen. One noteworthy feature about our list is the absence of Bibles in it. It is impossible to think that the copying of Holy Writ had fallen into abeyance at Tours. It is none the less true that among these thirty odd books, we note only a copy of *Job* and *Ezra* (No. 152) and the two copies of the Apocalypse;[4] nor is it certain that any of these three is a product of Tours. Even supposing that they all are, and supposing that the present list, though not complete, is representative, what would Alcuin have thought? Let us trust, rather, that sumptuous Bibles were still produced, though not found today at Tours, because, as in the past, they were presented to dignitaries of Church and State, and that the more ordinary copies made at Tours perished in the course of the centuries because they were put to such devout and frequent use.

For the first time we have some considerable material for comparing the script of the three establishments at Tours. St. Martin's is in

1. Nos. 152, 163, 167.
2. Nos. 131 and 133. I should group with them chronologically No. 143 A.
3. Nos. 161, 165, 166.
4. Nos. 177, 181.

the lead, as usual, with eleven books bearing its press-mark. At least one of these (No. 178) may have come from elsewhere, and one not labelled St. Martin's (No. 153) was probably written there. Besides this book, No. 155 and No. 168 are among those that I selected as examples as the better work of this period; all the rest show a Revived Cursive with little distinction. The authors copied indicate a wide range of interests — *Vitae Patrum* and the Fathers themselves, Ambrose, Jerome, Gregory, also later writers on ecclesiastical topics, such as Bede and Haymo of Auxerre, with the ancients represented by Cicero's *De Senectute* and *Somnium Scipionis*, the latter accompanied by the Commentary of Macrobius.

Marmoutier can claim one of the better books, No. 167, and has only two more besides.[1] The authors are Augustine, Jerome, and Hilary, with a collection of Canons. A volume containing Prudentius and Priscian (No. 180) was perhaps written elsewhere.

The scriptorium of St. Maurice seems more important, for five books are labelled St. Gatian, and four of them are of the better class — the three illuminated Sacramentaries,[2] and a copy of St. Augustine's *Letters* (No. 171). The remaining book is Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita* (No. 162). The volume with the three Sacramentaries[3] is of great importance for the history of the script of Tours, on account of the later additions that it contains. If some of them could be identified with hands in the later books of St. Gatian's, we could say with assurance that there was an active scriptorium at the Cathedral from the ninth century on. Here is a theme worthy of investigation.

Two of the books of this period contain matter bearing on St. Julian (Nos. 150, 158). Possibly the monastery of St. Julian had begun to copy books as early as this. Its history is obscure, as is that of Corméry.[4]

I have indicated in the preceding paragraph the range of subjects and authors covered by the copies made in this period. It is noteworthy that while the Bible drops into insignificance and the Classics barely hold their own, the original works of the Fathers as well as their commentaries are apparently attracting more attention. A

1. Nos. 170, 174.
2. Nos. 161, 165, 166.
3. Nos. 135, 165, 166.
4. Bosseboeuf, p. 54.

notable *vade mecum* for the study of the *quadrivium* and natural science in general is No. 172; it deserves special study. One curiosity in the history of the books of Tours thus far is the prevailing absence of the Christian Latin poets.[1] At last we find a copy of Prudentius (No. 180) — but it is by no means certainly a product of Tours.

PERIOD X. THE TENTH CENTURY

The books of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries listed here hardly provide adequate material for estimating the development of the script of Tours in these later periods, and I have made only a hasty examination of most of them, except in the matter of the ruling. In most cases, I have accepted the dates given in the catalogues, though further examination might lead to changes here and there. The manuscripts now at Tours have been very nicely appraised. One gains a growing respect for the opinion of a competent librarian, like M. Collon, whose judgment is based not merely on the rules of the textbooks but on personal contact with a goodly number of manuscripts. In several cases, I found myself finally agreeing with the dating assigned in Collon's Catalogue, even when my first impression had suggested other possibilities. In certain cases where I have ventured to hold a different opinion, the Catalogue may be right after all.

The characteristic feature of the best work of the tenth century is a return to the ancient standards of Tours. "Revived Cursive," to be sure, continues its course,[2] though not many examples of it may be pointed out. In most of the books, a clear and attractive variety of minuscule is cultivated, which may have occasional cursive traits,[3] but which in its leisurely largeness recalls the best Carolingian standards. One manuscript reveals, somewhat to our astonishment, a script modelled on the Embellished Cursive.[4] Was there an archaistic movement at St. Martin's in the latter part of the tenth century (or the eleventh) such as existed at Fleury,[5] or is it merely that in this one

1. The sole exception is the poem of Paulus Diaconus in No. 20.
2. Nos. 191 I and II (St. Martin 21), 192 (Marmoutier 271).
3. E. g., in No. 187 (St. Gatian 274).
4. No. 193 (St. Martin 75).
5. F. M. Carey, "De Scriptura Floriacensi," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), 194. This article is a summary of an unpublished doctor's dissertation, preserved in Harvard College Library (HU 90. 1491).

book the manner of the original, a book of Class IVA, was cleverly imitated? In general, it is clear that a stately clarity of style won the goal. And again we find that tendency at Fleury [1] and perhaps elsewhere. My notes permit no extended remarks on the details of style with which we have been concerned, with the exception of the ruling. Here we find only seven books O. S.[2] against eleven N. S. The old method, which took a decided recovery at the end of the ninth century, now is on the decrease again. In the signatures, the traditional methods are regularly followed. The numeral, generally unadorned except for an angular bracket now and then, is placed in the centre of the lower margin, with or without a q before it. In one case, the numeral is flanked by ornamented leaves (No. 187), and in another case, letters instead of numerals are used (No. 191).

Abbreviations sometimes outrun the ancient norm in number and variety,[3] yet in some books they adhere to it.[4] Greek H and C may appear; [5] I have not noticed t̓ for *tur*. The "down-up" method of punctuation still is practised.[6] The ornamentation shows improvement, especially in the later books, some of which perhaps belong in the following period. In certain of the initials we note the antique pattern of Tours, but in others the artist has advanced to something new.[7]

The only dates are furnished by No. 185, the note in Tours 106 (No. 185, St. Martin 158) on the burning of St. Martin's church in 903, and the charter of St. Ursus in No. 183. The latter is naturally in a charter hand; the former, while short, may possibly provide a nucleus about which other books may be placed.

All three scriptoria are represented in this period, and there is, besides, the charter from St. Ursus. Perhaps books were copied in this monastery, too, though we know nothing about them. Marmoutier with five books is slightly superior to St. Maurice's with three, but St. Martin's is still in the lead, not only in the number of books, — seven

1. F. M. Carey, "De Scriptura Floriacensi," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXIV (1923), 194.
2. Nos. 182 (St. Martin ?), 184 (Marmoutier 66), 187 (St. Gatian 124), 194 (St. Martin 47), 195 (St. Martin 198), 196 (St. Martin 37), 198 (Marmoutier 100).
3. Nos. 184 (Marmoutier 66), 193 (St. Martin 75).
4. No. 190 (St. Martin 16).
5. No. 189 (Marmoutier 29).
6. Nos. 187 (St. Gatian 124), 193 (St. Martin 75).
7. Nos. 192 (Marmoutier 271), 196 (St. Martin 37), 197 (St. Gatian 121 and 122).

sure cases and one (No. 182) probable one, — but in the variety of their contents. While St. Gatian can boast only a Sacramentary, a Jerome and an Ambrose, and Marmoutier only an Augustine, a Jerome, a Taius (*Sententiae ex Moralibus Gregorii*), a life of St. Martial of Limoges and a Servius (*Liber Centimetrorum*), St. Martin shows a much wider range. Besides Cassian (*Liber de Collationibus*), a *Vita Sancti Eligii*, Iohannes Diaconus (*Vita Sancti Gregorii*), Theodulf (*De processione Sancti Spiritus*), Boethius (*Arithmetica*), Dicuil (*Computus*), we note two books of philosophical importance, Boethius's *Consolatio* and, a rather dangerous volume for the time, some of John the Scot's translations of the Pseudo-Dionysius. Humanism, too, is attested by the Boethius and by the Livy, copied directly, it would seem, from the volume now in the Vatican. There is no sign, therefore, that St. Martin's has lost its supremacy among the scriptoria of Tours.

Of the different features of the script that I have noticed, illustrations will be found, as I have indicated, in the books of all three establishments. Closer study may reveal distinctive traits in each case, and perhaps allow us to place that stately copy of St. Augustine's *Confessions* (No. 188), the provenience of which is in doubt.

PERIOD XI. THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Most of the manuscripts known to have been once possessed by St. Martin's, St. Maurice's, or Marmoutier are listed here; some of them probably were written elsewhere. The script has well-nigh regained its lost prestige. The illumination likewise is more and more splendid. In the method of Ruling, N. S. (in twenty books) has well-nigh driven O. S. (in only four books) from the field. That the latter method was still practised at Tours we may perhaps infer from No. 214 (Marmoutier 80), in which both styles are represented. That N. S. was in use elsewhere is shown by its appearance in No. 202 (St. Gatian 67), evidently not a book of Tours. In some cases, books that I label N. S. may have had each leaf separately ruled, for secondary rulings are not always easy to make out. This is true of No. 213 (St. Martin 118), in which traces of ruling in lead also appear.

The Manuscripts of Tours

PERIOD XII. THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The Renaissance of the twelfth century, the various aspects of which have been recently described with acumen and with charm by Haskins,[1] is amply attested by the script and the illumination of Tours. In the ruling of books, the Old Style has apparently disappeared for good and all. Of the few manuscripts on my list, we note N. S. — or more probably the ruling of separate leaves — in No. 227 (Marmoutier 123) and 229 (St. Gatian 139). This leads the way for the ruling of the separate pages in lead, as in No. 230 (St. Martin 67), and that to their separate ruling in ink, as in No. 228 (St. Martin). An interesting case is No. 231 (St. Martin 1), apparently ruled first N. S. and then on the separate pages with lead.[2]

If now we count the number of manuscripts of the eleventh and the twelfth centuries written at each of the three chief scriptoria of Tours,[3] we realize that something has happened. Marmoutier is in the lead with fourteen books. St. Gatian has eleven, of which one (No. 202) is almost surely an outsider, while St. Martin's has but eight.[4] Apparently more copying is going on at Marmoutier and St. Maurice's than before. At both places, notable achievements in illumination are evident. Marmoutier has two Sacramentaries to its credit [5] and an illuminated Augustine (No. 214). The art of St. Maurice's is somewhat more abundant, at least as represented here,[6] and it shows an exquisite and humorous inventiveness in the initials of No. 229. Among the works and authors copied, we note at Marmoutier at least one Biblical specimen.[7] At both places, there is an obvious interest in the Fathers; St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Hilary, St. Gregory, Origen are all represented, with particular attention to St. Augustine. Moreover, at St. Maurice's, most of these manuscripts have received careful and, sometimes, elaborate illumination. Marmoutier must also have

1. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1927.
2. See above, p. 18.
3. Those of the eleventh century are tolerably complete, so far as the manuscripts now at Tours are concerned; those of the twelfth are merely a selection.
4. No. 227 should be counted as two manuscripts, St. Martin 115 and 116.
5. Nos. 207 and 227.
6. See Nos. 201, a Missal; 216, 217, 229, Augustine; 218, 219, Gregory; 224, *Homilies*.
7. No. 204, *Job*.

been cultivating the art of poetry, as appears in the paraphrase of the Psalms in No. 205.

Turning to St. Martin's, we discover that the products of that scriptorium should not be estimated merely by their amount. For here we note the most splendid examples of illumination found in this period, particularly two copies of the *Martinellus* (enlarged with later tributes to the saint), on which his faithful followers had lavished their most loving care,[1] and finally the illustrated Terence, the merits of which will be described in the forthcoming work of Morey and Jones. This manuscript suggests that the tradition of humanism was as strong as ever at St. Martin's. We also note copies of Augustine, Fulgentius, Orientius, along with an illuminated Sacramentary (No. 228), a mediaeval work like the *Visio Wettini* (No. 213), a goodly number of mediaeval poems in No. 230, and finally, we are glad to note, at least parts of a Bible (No. 222). It is not, then, I take it, that St. Martin's has fallen to a lower estate; it is rather that the other scriptoria have made conspicuous progress. Marmoutier may have shot ahead of St. Maurice's, but we may well surmise that St. Martin's was still the leader.

If now we may comprise in a nutshell the history of writing and illumination at Tours, we note the inception of these arts, whatever may have been their still more ancient condition, in the eighth century. All three scriptoria, I venture to think, were active at that time. When St. Julian and other monastic establishments appeared on the scene is a matter for further investigation to show. At first, Tours was behind Luxeuil, Corbie, Fleury, and possibly other centres, but, particularly under Alcuin, it overtook its rivals, and in the remarkable products of the Mid-century held the foremost place in Europe. Then it yielded the palm to Franco-Saxon art, and at the end of the ninth century went into a conspicuous decline. From this it slowly emerged in the tenth century, and from that time made further and further strides toward a place of high eminence, which it attained in the Renaissance of the twelfth century. What the steps in this progress

1. See No. 226 and especially, No. 225, which contains perhaps the most remarkable miniatures in the history of the art at Tours.

were, and what were the various contributions of St. Maurice's, Marmoutier, and St. Martin's, is a story that others must tell.

A similar survey of the favorite authors of Tours is more hazardous. We may trace the development of script and art from a half or a quarter of the total product, and be tolerably sure of its nature. But with the heavy losses sustained by the scriptoria of Tours in the Middle Ages and in modern times, it is risky to dogmatize on what the original collections did *not* contain. On the supposition — and only on the supposition — that what remains is fairly typical of the entire product, we may venture at least a few remarks. It would appear reasonably certain that Alcuin, building on the work of his predecessors, maintained the programme of Christian humanism that since the days of Lactantius and Cassiodorus had been adopted by the Church. After Alcuin his policies were nobly sustained by his pupil Fridugisus. Adalardus and Vivian, however, presided over a period in which the idea of art for art's sake worked havoc with the study of both the Fathers and the Pagan Classics. Towards the end of the century, as art went out, scholarship returned, though the condition of the Classics was less prosperous than in Alcuin's day. The Fathers had regained their former importance and held it during the following centuries. The Classics were not entirely forgotten, though their light was obscured. We may naturally suppose that along with the later progress in script and art they will be found to increase in number and in kind among the books of Tours in the Renaissance of the Twelfth Century.

PART B

A Summary Description of the Manuscripts of Tours

A Summary Description of the Manuscripts of Tours

Period I. *The Earliest Books of Tours*

1. PARIS, B.N., N. A. LAT. 1592. (St. Martin 23, Libri 1). St. Hilary, *de Sancta Trinitate*, Books VI–XI.

(278 leaves, also one ancient parchment fly-leaf at the beginning and two at the end). 280×240. 1 col., 180×157. *Palae. Lat.* V., No. 2. 22 lines.

Ruling. Rule I generally observed, but as is appropriate for an ancient book, not Rule II. Ruled on flesh-side lying on flesh-side, two leaves at a time. This is the principle of N. S., except that there the ruling is on the hair-side. The leaves after ruling were rearranged as in N. S., according to Rule I. N. S. was thus, it would seem, an ancient practice revived with an important modification. See above p. 17.

Gatherings. Quaternions. No signatures.

Script. Uncial of the sixth century, mainly the work of one hand.

Corrections and marginal notes in "rustic uncial."

Abbreviations: Few. The stroke, above and at the right, for M and N after a vowel and before a consonant. *Nostri* $\overline{\text{N}}$ *nostrum* ·$\overline{\text{N}}$· *Bus* B: B· *Que* Q· $\overline{\text{DS}}$ $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$ $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ ($\overline{\text{SPUUM}}$ spirituum) $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICANT}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICATUS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICATIONIS}}$ $\overline{\text{ISRL}}$.

Illumination. Simple. Titles in rustic capitals, decorated with vines and other figures, partly colored red. Initial line of each book in red.

Fol. 232: est sancti Petri de Perusio (by Libri).

Date. Assigned by Montfaucon and the authors of the *Nouveau Traité* to the seventh century, but rightly by Delisle to the sixth. So Lowe, who is inclined to regard the script as Italian. "Written probably in France in the latter part of the sixth century" (*Palaeographical Society*).

Plate I. 1 (fol. 12^r), 2 (fol. 81^r).

Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I, 223. Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 17; Pl., I. 1, 3, 4. (foll. 39^r, 2^v, 17^r). *Palaeographical Society*, II, Pl. 10. Zimmermann, I, Taf. 2 (foll. 81^r, 4^v).

2. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 2334. (St. Gatian 4, Libri 13.) *The Ashburnham Pentateuch.*

142 leaves. 377 × 322. 2 col., 282 × 110. 30 (28, 29) lines.

Ruling. Despite the mutilated condition of the book, the gatherings can be made out in whole or in part. The ruling is delicately done, always on the hair-side. No correspondences discoverable, and the difference between primary and secondary rulings is hard to ascertain. Either each leaf was ruled separately, or, more probably, the N. S. method was already practised in the seventh century. (See No. 1.) N. S. was thus a re-discovery. Possibly this very book, accessible at Tours from an early date, was responsible for the suggestion. See above, p. 17.

Gatherings. Apparently quaternions.

Signatures. Q in the centre, the numeral at the extreme right. Both decorated with a series of short lines at top and bottom.

Script. Uncial of the seventh century. Spanish, according to the current theory; Italian, according to the editors of the *Palaeographical Society*. Probably not French, but "queer and exotic, with nothing specifically Spanish about it" (Lowe). "Je ne vois pas pourquoi cette onciale épaisse du vii^e siècle n' aurait pas été employée à Tours même" (Dom Wilmart). Curious square capitals for titles.

Abbreviations. Few. For M and N after a vowel, a waving stroke above the vowel and often a bit towards the right. *Bus* (often written out) B· B; *Que* (often written out) q· q: q; q› q; q q- $\overline{\text{DS}}$ $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICA}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICENTUR}}$, $\overline{\text{SCUARIUM}}$ etc. Suprascript U frequent (e. g., OCCIDUNT(U)R, LUC(U)STAE, Q(U)INTO).

Punctuation. The dot, often between words.

Correcting hands.

A. A contemporary uncial hand (Plate II).

B. An early semiuncial hand. (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, Pl. IV. 2, "petite onciale.")

C. A neat uncial hand, *saec.* IX (Delisle); *saec.* VIII, North-Italian (*Palaeographical Society*). I should assign it to Tours, about the middle of the eighth century (Plate III. 1). This hand made a thorough revision of the book when the latter was in a dilapidated state, copying its text, according to Dom Chapman, from the fragile leaves of the original. On fol. 110^{r}, it erased a marginal addition by Corrector A and incorporated it in the text (Plate II. 2).

Abbreviations. About as in the main hand. An oblique stroke with caps for omitted M and N, above and a little at the right of the vowel. *Bus* (often written out) B; B; *Que* (often written out) q: q; q; SUP SUP̄ SUP̃ (*super*) OR (*orum*) D̄S D̄NS S̄PS S̄CS S̄CIFICATA S̄CIFICAVIT S̄CIFICATIONIS *etc.* ISRAHEL (not abbreviated).

Illumination. Large initial *I* (Plate III. 1) in colors and with designs suggesting particularly the art of Corbie about the middle of the eighth century.

D. A minuscule hand (fol. 33^{v} Plate III. 2) in the Improved Cursive hand of Tours, *saec.* VIII/IX, somewhat in the manner of No. 58 (Paris, B. N., N. A. lat. 1595); Plate LXXI. 1 (fol. 114^{r}).

E. Various additions in hands of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

F. A few Tironian notes.

Text. Spanish in character according to Dom Quentin. According to Dom Chapman, it comes ultimately from Cassiodorus.

Illumination. Red (crimson) and black headings. Capitula-arches with some designs reappearing in the later art of Tours. Pictures with an extraordinary wealth of realistic details including domestic scenes. Diverse colors often skilfully applied. Some gold and silver. Some oriental original was copied and adapted in Spain, according to the current theory (Neuss), or in Tours itself according to Grüneisen and Porter.

Fol. 116^{v} *μον. κρϋπτοφερρ* (Libri).

Nothing in the facts thus far presented by authorities on the script, the art and the text of this book excludes the hypothesis that it was written and illuminated at Tours. It certainly was there in the eighth century.

Plate II. 1 (fol. 115^{r}), 2 (fol. 110^{r}), 3 (fol. 72^{r}); III. 1 (fol. 3^{r}), 2 (fol. 33^{v}).

O. Gebhardt, *The Miniatures of the Ashburnham Pentateuch* (many plates), London, 1883. Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 1; Pl. IV. 1–3 (foll. 59^{r}, 5^{r}, 4^{r}), VII. 4 (fol. 116^{v}). *Palaeographical Society*, I, Plates 234, 235. Berger, p. 410. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I, 224. W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique*, 1911, pp. 343 ff. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire sur la Vulgate*, pp. 414 ff. *Genesis*, pp. xii–xiv. Dom John Chapman, *Revue Bénedictine*, 1925, pp. 367 ff. W. Neuss, *Die katalonischen Bibelillustrationen*, pp. 59 ff.

3. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1575. (St. Martin 50 bis, Libri 8.) Eugippius, *Excerpta ex operibus S. Augustini.*

138 leaves. 310 × 205. 1 col., 234 × 161. 32 (29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 38, 41) lines.

Ruling. Rules I and II only irregularly applied. 2 (4, 3) O. S., sometimes on the hair-side, sometimes on the flesh-side, with some random selection from a pile.

Gatherings. Quaternions, with numerous irregularities.

Signatures. Q and the numeral at the right, both decorated with a series of short lines at top and bottom. Some signatures in Tironian notes.

Script. Many scribes, in uncial (8 hands), semi-uncial (3 hands) and mainly (12 hands) Merovingian cursive. The latter, despite its carelessness, contains the promise of a new development in script. Uncials and semiuncials are used both for the text and for decoration, along with mixed capitals, in hierarchical successions.

Corrections. Thorough revision by a Merovingian hand in green ink, and occasional correction by others.

Abbreviations. *Autem* ·ħ· and, by the corrector in green, āt *Dicit* dt̄ *dicitur* dr̄ *dixit* ø ·đ· *Esse* ·ēē· *Est* ·ē· *Fratres* F̄F̄, fr̄s *Non* ·N̄· ·n̄· n̊ (rare) n̄o (rare) *Noster* n̄ost *nostri* ·N̄· *nostro* ·N̄OS· n̄os ·N̄S· ·N̄O· n̄o *nostrum* n̄m *Nostra* N̄S *nostrae* ·N̄S· *Per* ꝑ ꝑ ꝑ *Prae* p̄ *Pro* ꝓ *Quae* q̄ q̄· q̄, q̄⁷ q̄ˢ q̄: q̄·· q̄ⁱ *Que* q· q, q⁷ qˢ q; q; q: q q·· q³ *Qui* q̇ (rare) *Quod* qđ *Quoniam*

q̄nm̄ (frequent) q̄m̄ q̄uo̅ q̄ɴ q̄uᴍ̄ (to q̄oᴍ̄ by the corrector in green) q̄uūᴍ̄ (to q̄uōm̄ by the corrector in green) *Saeculum* sc̄m sc̄i sc̄o sc̄is *Ter* propt̄ *Lis* popuꝭ *Rum* ꝛ *Tur* t́ (once fol. 8: *multiplicentur*); generally not abbreviated, though the ligature of *tur* is used. *Bus* b· b, b⁷ bˢ bᵘ b; b; b: *Mus* m₊ (rare) d̄s̄ īh̄s x̄p̄s d̄n̄s d̄n̄ī (once, fol. 102ᵛ, possibly from d̄m̄ī) s̄p̄s s̄c̄s s̄c̄iore s̄c̄itate, s̄c̄ificauit *etc.* ēp̄m̄ p̄rb̄ro ī̄s̄rl ISRAL ap̄os̄t (*apostolus*). Technical or capricious abbreviations. Few: ex lib̄ eod̄ et rl̄ = *et reliqua*. Suprascript *u* common (e. g., *q(u)a*, *q(u)ia*, *q(u)od*, *loq(u)i*, *sec(u)tus*, *req(u)iescunt*). Suprascript *o* occasional (e. g., *qu(o)d*, *quant(o)*, *hom(o)*, *admonend(o)s*).

Illumination. Red, black and crimson titles. Crude initials, some in outline and not filled in, some with primitive designs including fish-forms. Simple colors, red, yellow, brown.

Date. Probably near the beginning of the seventh century.

Plates IV (fol. 136ᵛ: uncial hands U^2 and U^5); V (fol. 114ʳ: semiuncial hand S^2); VI (fol. 39ʳ: minuscule hand E).

Delisle, *Notice sur un manuscrit mérovingien contenant des fragments d'Eugyppius appartenant à M. Jules Desnoyers* (Paris, 1875), Plate I (fol. 85ʳ); II (fol. 1ʳ); III (fol. 4ʳ); IV (fol. 59ʳ); V (fol. 13ʳ); VI (fol. 48ᵛ). *Manuscrits Disparus*, pp. 55, 198. *Fonds Libri*, p. 26. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I, p. 223. E. A. Lowe, "A Hand-list of Half-Uncial Manuscripts," *Miscellanea Ehrle*, Rome, IV (1924), 34–61, No. 93. Lauer, *Réforme Carolingienne*, pp. 13 f.; pl. VII. 2 (fol. 93).

4. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1586 (Marmoutier 1, Libri 6). *The Marmoutier Prophets*. (*Isaiah*, part, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, part).

209 leaves. 310 × 240. 2 cols., 257 × 65. 31 and 32 lines.

Ruling. Little attention paid to Rules I and II. 2 (4 and even 5) O. S., generally on the hair-side, sometimes on the flesh-side.

Gatherings. Quaternions.

Signatures (perhaps somewhat later). q̄. and the numeral in the centre.

Script. Uncial (three hands), with some use of semiuncial and early minuscule.

Corrections. Minor corrections in minuscule of the eighth and early ninth century and in rude Tironian notes. Certain columns supplied in a later hand, but not so late as the tenth century as stated by Delisle (*Fonds Libri*, p. 7). The loss of the original columns was due to the too vigorous ruling (or rather cutting) of the column lines in the middle of the page (Plate VII). A page (fol. 136[r]) following *Jeremiah* either has faded or was erased. The fragments decipherable indicate a work of St. Jerome's (preface or commentary) dealing with Daniel.

Abbreviations. Few. *Nostri* $\overline{\text{NI}}$ *Per* ꝑ *Que* q᷑ q· *Vester* $\overline{\text{UESR}}$ *Rum* ꝛ᷑ *Bus* b᷑ b· *Tur* in ligature but not abbreviated $\overline{\text{DS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$ $\overline{\text{DNS}}$ $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCITATIS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCIFICATUS}}$ $\overline{\text{SCUARIUM}}$ etc. $\overline{\text{ISRL}}$ $\overline{\text{ISHL}}$ $\overline{\text{ISRAL}}$ $\overline{\text{HIERLM}}$ $\overline{\text{HIERL}}$ $\overline{\text{HIERUSL}}$ Suprascript u, in the form of an almost horizontal stroke e. g., $\overline{\text{qod}}$ $\overline{\text{qos}}$

Fol. 63[r], top: the name RAINARDUS. Fol. 123[r], between the two columns: the words *ego Gislardus*. Gislardus occurs in the St. Gall list, Nos. 64 and 195. The writer of the name would seem to be an earlier Gislardus than either of these.

Illumination. Titles in red and in red and black. Simple initials in black and red. A few larger initials containing simple scrolls and filled in (possibly later?) with gold.

Date. Assigned by Delisle (*Fonds Libri*, pp. lxxxiv, 7; Pl. IV. 5 = fol. 175[r], VII. 3 = fol. 207[r]), and by Chatelain (*Uncialis Scriptura*, p. 101, Pl. LVIII = fol. 160[v]; *La Tachygraphie Syllabique Employée à Marmoutier à l'Époque Carolingienne*, 1899, pp. 8 f.) to the beginning of the ninth century; by the authors of the *Nouveau Traité*, (III, pp. 176, 251, Pl. XLIV, XLVIII), to the seventh. I should place it at about the middle of the eighth. See also Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 170. Traube, *Vorlesungen*, I, 223. Lowe, *Hand-List of Half Uncial Manuscripts*, No. 94.

Plate VII (fol. 94[v]); VIII (fol. 207[r]); IX. 1 (fol. 139[r]), 2 (fol. 114[v]), 3 (fol. 55[r]).

5. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 2332, fol. 3. Fragment of Philippus, *Expositio in Iob* (St. Martin 88).

One leaf. 318 × 214. 1 col., 234 × 140. 30 lines.

Script. "Merovingian cursive." "Écriture mélangée de demionciale et de cursive" (second catalogue of St. Martin, No. 56). The compiler of this catalogue (eighteenth century) also states that "il y a plusieurs pages en écriture verte." Fragments of papyrus formed a part of the binding of the original volume. This manuscript unhappily escaped my attention in 1927. The photograph later secured shows that previous descriptions probably imply too early a date for it. It seems characteristic of Pre-alcuinian work, but should be placed in Group III rather than Group I.

[An examination of the leaf in August, 1928, confirms this opinion. On the evidence of the leaf alone it would be hard to say that the book was written at Tours.]

Plate X (fol. 3ʳ).

Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 58 (214). Omont, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 1893, p. 725.

6. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 1572 (Colbertinus). *Acta Concilii Ephesini.*

226 leaves. 252 × 182. 1 col., 203 × 139. 26 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., generally on the inner leaf (flesh-side), with random selections from a pile. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 6.

Script. Majuscules (mixed), uncials and semi-uncials are used only for decoration. Minuscule in 23 hands, some showing the crude cursive traits exhibited in the Eugippius (No. 3) and some (particularly Hand P) prophesying (or achieving?) the "Caroline" type.

Abbreviations. *Autem* ꝟ (Hand H, fol. 70ʳ, twice; Hand P, fol. 162ʳ, suprascript. This, the oldest form of the symbol (Beeson) was found, as can be shown, in the original from which the present manuscript was copied). *Esse* ·ēē· ēē· ꝺ& (*not = esset*) *est* ·ē· ·ē› *Fratres* frs̄ *Non* ·N̄· *Noster* (generally unabbreviated) nst̄ (fol. 2ᵛ) *nostri* N̄ (foll. 6ʳ, 48ʳ) NI (foll. 62ʳ, 192ʳ) nrī *nostro* ·nō· (fol. 40) nrō *nostrum* Nm̄ (foll. 21ʳ, 134ʳ, 136ʳ, 159ʳ) nrm̄ *nostrae* nrāe *nostram* nrām *Per* ꝑ (the stroke sometimes is wavy) *Prae* p̄ ·p̄· *Pro* ꝓ *Que* q; (the dot sometimes is well to the right) q› qˀ q̣ (fol. 25ᵛ) *Quod* qđ *Quoniam* qnm̄ qN̄ (foll. 56ᵛ, 57ᵛ, 201ᵛ, 202ʳ) qUNM (fol. 69ᵛ) *Saecula* sc̣la *saeculorum*

sc̄lrm sc̄lr (fol. 184r) *Ter* propt̄ ppt̄ *Rum* traditoꝝ (fol. 103r) *Tur* in ligature but not abbreviated *Bus* b; (its dot sometimes is well to the right and sometimes well to the left) b› bs (fol. 71r) b:› (fol. 200v ff.) dn̄s ih̄s ihus (fol. 153r) x̄ps x̄pos x̄pianus x̄pianissimus dn̄s dom̄ (= *dominus* foll. 31r, 55v *domino* fol. 51v *dominum* fol. 136r) s̄cs s̄cissimus s̄ctissimus (fol. 102r), s̄citate ī s̄rl ī s̄l (fol. 84v), isrl̄ (fol. 158r), ī s̄rahl̄ (fol. 169v) *Episcopus* epīsc (fol. 10r) epīsc; (fol. 72r) epīcs (fol. 147) ēpsc (fol. 53v) ēpcs (foll. 144r, 145v) ēps *episcopi* ēpi ēpci (fol. 132r) *episcopo* ēpo ēpsco (fol. 48r) *episcopum* ēpm ēpsm (fol. 48v) ēpcm (fol. 48v) *episcoporum* ēporum *episcopis* ēpis *episcopos* ēpos *Presbyter* presb; presb› (fol. 12r) prs̄bt (fol. 102r) prs̄b (fol. 106v), pr̄b (fol. 159r); *presbyteris* pr̄btris (fol. 38v). Suprascript *u* frequent (e. g., *q(u)i*, *fili(u)s*, *commenda(u)imus*).

Illumination. Titles rarely in light crimson, generally in black. Crude initials with some fish-forms and other designs characteristic of the earliest manner of Tours. The only coloring is an occasional dash of red. Used by Étienne Baluze in his *Nova Collectio Conciliorum*, 1683 (see p. 383). At St. Martin's in 1677 (on evidence still unpublished) and somehow acquired by Baluze for Colbert between these two dates. An extensive account of this manuscript will appear in the next volume of this series.

Plate XI. 1 (fol. 14r: Hand A); 2 (fol. 164v: Hand P).

Period II. *The Irish at Tours*

7. LONDON, B. M. Egerton 2831. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*.

143 leaves. 296 × 216. 2 cols., 253 × 80. In q. viii (fol. 52–67) one quaternion is fitted into another and bound in. It has only one column (250 × 151). 28 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the outer leaf, which is in virtually all cases the flesh-side. This detail is a mark of antiquity.

Gatherings. Quaternions, with some irregularities.

Signatures. Fol. 9v: under right column, q̄ 1 (in many other cases decorated).

Description of the Manuscripts

Script. Part I (Q. I–XIV. foll. 1–109). Continental Merovingian, under Irish influence. Three hands. Part II (Q. XV–XVIII, foll. 110–143). Insular (Irish). One hand, showing little Continental influence.

Abbreviations. Part I. *Dicit* dt̄ *dicitur* dr̄ *Esse* ēē *est* ē ·ē· *Non* n̄ *Nos* n+ (with cross-stroke looped over prolonged base; fol. 10r) *Noster* only nr̄ (*nostri*) *Per* ꝑ *Prae* p̄ *Pro* ꝓ *Quae* q̄:· (less often q̄ q̄› and, also in No. 3, q̄:) *Que* q: (q, q. ꝙ rare) *Quoniam* q̄nm̄ *Saeculum* sc̄lm *Sunt* s̄ *Ne* maledictiō *Tur* (not abbreviated) *Bus* b: b; b· b^{s}*f* (rare) b:· *Dus* mund+ *Mus* m+ (and like n+ above) m*f* all rare, m̄s with suprascript *u* is common. dn̄s ih̄s x̄ps dn̄s s̄ps s̄cs s̄citatis ısr̄l. This list suggests not so much Ireland as No. 3) and the later books of Tours.

Part II. A mixture of Insular and Continental symbols. *Autem* ꝯ *Con* ɔ *Dicit* dt̄ *dicitur* dr̄ *dixit* đ *Enim* ++ *Est* ē· ·ē ē *Mihi* i m̊ *Nec.* n̊ *Non* n̊ n̄ (rare) *Noster* (not abbreviated) *Per* ꝑ p̄ (less frequent) *Prae* p̄ *Pro* ꝓ *Propter* p̄p̄ *Quae* q̄·· *Que* q; (q: q· q;) *Qui* i q̄ *Quid* i qđ *Quod* qđ ꝙ (rare) *Quoniam* q̄nm̄ q̄m̄ *Sunt* s̄t *Tamen* t̄n *Vester* (not abbreviated) *Rum* filior *Tur* (not abbreviated) *Bus* b: (b; b; b› b³ rare) Suprascript *u* rare. dn̄s ih̄s x̄ps dn̄s s̄ps s̄cs s̄cificabantur

Punctuation. Part II. .$_{7}$ and ...$_{7}$ for a full stop. Frequent accents. Same style of quotation-marks in both parts.

Correcting hands. A: several Merovingian hands (in both parts of the book), some suggesting a period not much later than that of the *Eugippius* (No. 3). (Plate XIII. 1 and 3). B: an Insular hand, found in both parts of the book. C: a Pre-alcuinian hand of Tours (Plate XII, col. 2, lines 15–17; Plate XIII. 2).

Illumination. Part I. Red and black titles, red and black initials, sometimes with dots about them in the Irish way. A few Merovingian fishes, one with an Irish look (*New Pal. Soc.*, Plate 107). Part II. Only one (simple) initial (*Ibid.*, Plate 108).

Fol. 1r: Hic habet librum sancti Martini Turonensem de caenubio in quo quiescit ⟨? se⟩d de illo armario et qui me furauerit uel hoc folium inciserit ⟨anathema⟩ sit. Also: hic habet librum sancti Martini

turonensem d. Both press marks in Merovingian script. (*Ibid.* Plate 107).

One of the lost books of Tours when Delisle wrote his *Manuscrits Disparus* (p. 56). No. 60 in Lord Ashburnham's Library and included by Sotheby in his Barrois sale, 1901, whence it was acquired by the British Museum.

This book is a monument of the presence of the Irish at Tours about the middle of the eighth century. The Merovingian correcting hands bespeak an early date for the book and show the nature of the script before the influence of the Irish.

Plates XII (fol. 26^{v}); XIII. 1 (fol. 33^{r}), 2 (fol. 98^{r}), 3 and 4 (fol. 117^{v}).

New Palaeographical Society, Plates 107 (fol. 48^{r}); 108 (fol. 110^{r}).

Liebaert Collection, 1486–513 (fol. 19^{v}); 1487–514 (fol. 29^{r}); 1488–515 (fol. 71^{r}); 1489–516 (fol. 110^{r}).

8. FLORENCE, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana XLV 15.

Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos.*

160 leaves. 378 × 270. 2 cols., 295 × 97. 35 (36,38) lines.

Ruling. Part I (Insular Script) and Part II (Continental) keep Rule I (except in Q. x) and break Rule II. The ruling is done on the flesh-side. In Part I, three leaves are ruled together on fol. A (A, B, C) and three on F (F, G, H), D–E being ruled separately. This is the "outside-inside" or "Insular" principle (appropriately) See above p. 16. In Part II, four leaves are ruled together on the inner leaf; this is O. S., save that the ruling is done on a flesh-side.

Gatherings. Quaternions.

Signatures. Part I, fol. 8^{v} at right: $\overline{q}$ I (and so elsewhere). Part II, fol. 64^{v} centre: Q VIII (and so elsewhere, sometimes decorated).

Script. Part I. Insular, suggesting the Insular hand in No. 7 (Egerton 2831). Part II. Continental, suggesting the Continental hand in No. 7 and some of the hands in No. 6 (B. N. lat. 1572).

Abbreviations. Part I. An Insular set. Very few. $\bar{e}$ (*est*) ꝗ curiously corrected (*quam*) q·̣· (*quae*) q^{3} q: (*que*) ꝙ (*quod*) $\overline{quo}$ (*quoniam*) $\overline{tm}$ (*tantum*) Part II. An early continental set. $\bar{e}$ (*est*) $\overline{ee}$ (*esse*) $\overline{eet}$ (*esset*) $\overline{ns}$ (*nisi*) $\bar{n}$ (non) $\overline{nos}$ (*nostros*) $\overline{nis}$ (*nostris*) $\overline{nae}$ (*nostrae*) $\overline{nas}$ (*nostras*) $\overline{nom}$ $\overline{pat}$ ceter terrebant

(t̓ = *tur* several times) b; b; b; (with the commas in a continuous stroke) prim̓ gen̓ $\overline{\text{sps}}$ $\overline{\text{sco}}$ $\overline{\text{scae}}$ $\overline{\text{scos}}$.

Punctuation. In Part I, sometimes for whole stop three dots (. . .).

Text. Related to that of No. 89 (Vat. Reg. lat. 1484) and No. 9 (Vat. lat. 1512). See the edition of Tiberius Claudius Donatus by H. Georgii, Leipzig, 1905–06, I, p. xxxiii.

Illumination. Red titles and frequent red lemmata. An *édition de luxe* of a Pagan author, showing a great reverence for Virgil and his commentator. Very possibly a monument of the Irish at Tours.

Plates XIV (fol. 11^{v}); XV (fol. 70^{r}).

Discreetly treated by Rostagno in Paolo e Vitelli, *Collezione Fiorentina di Facsimili Paleografici Greci e Latini*, IV (1888), Tavole 37 (fol. 10^{v}); 38 (fol. 101^{r}).

9. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana lat. 1512. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos*, Book VI (part) — XII (part).

237 (not 236) leaves. 415 × 270. 2 coll., 317 × 96. 34, 36, 37 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S. on the outer leaf, with random selection from a pile. Rules I and II are frequently broken: the ruling is often on a flesh-side.

Gatherings. Quaternions.

Signatures. Fol. 7^{v} centre: .11. (and so elsewhere, the numeral decorated with fancy ornaments, including heads of beasts).

Script. Continental, with an early flavor. Surely two, perhaps three scribes, seemingly Irishmen writing after considerable Continental experience rather than Continentals writing under Insular influence.

Abbreviations. Few. Not many specifically Irish. $\overline{\text{aut}}$ (*autem*) ·ē· ÷ (*est*) ·$\overline{\text{ee}}$· (*esse*) e$\overline{\&}$ (*esset*) $\overline{\text{ns}}$ (*nisi* — a rarity) $\overline{\text{n}}$ (*non*) *noster* ($\overline{\text{nri}}$ $\overline{\text{nro}}$ etc.) $\overline{\text{oms}}$ (*omnes*), $\overline{\text{oma}}$ (*omnia*) ꝑ (*per*) $\overline{\text{p}}$ (*prae*) ꝓ (*pro*) ꝙ (*quam*) $\overline{\text{q}}$ q; (*quae*) q: q; q·· (*que*) qͨ q̇a (*quia*) qđ (*quod*) $\overline{\text{qm}}$ $\overline{\text{qnm}}$ $\overline{\text{quo}}$ (*quoniam*) s̄ (*sunt*) uł (*uel*) no$\overline{\text{m}}$ (*nomen*) i$\overline{\text{t}}$ (*iter*) oꝝ (*orum*) tra$\overline{\text{x}}$ (*traxit*) t̓ and ṫ (fol. 59^{r}: *inuenitur*, cf. No. 3) b; b^{3} b·· (*bus*) mꝓ (*mus*).

Punctuation. The dot, and after important sections ·:·

Text. Intimately connected with No. 8 (Laur. XLV 15) and No. 89 (Vat. lat. 1484); see No. 8.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Lemmata in red uncials. Initials more elaborate than in No. 8, suggesting both Ireland and early Tours and including an encircled bird (fol. 30^{v}). Various initials are surrounded by red dots and many are traced in outline, like those in No. 3. Quire signatures are often decorated, and small figures (interlaces and other ornaments) are not infrequently found in the margins.

Date. Called by Georgii, I, p. xx, "*vetustissimus*" and "*nono certe saeculo*" on the authority of Cardinal Ehrle and Monsignor Mercati. The book may well belong in the circle of No. 7.

Plates XVI (fol. 30^{v}: Hand A); XVII. 1 (fol. 162^{r}: Hand C), 2 (fol. 48^{r}: Hand B), 3 (fol. 67^{v}: Hand B), 4 (fol. 24^{v}: Hand A).

10. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1587 (St. Gatian 8, Libri 14). *The Gospels of St. Gatian.*

109 leaves. 303 × 240. 1 col., 250 × 190. 29 (27, 28) lines.

Ruling. Frequent exceptions to Rules I and II. Bound regularly in quinions. 5 O. S. The first five leaves are ruled on the recto of the first outside leaf, the last five on the recto of the first inside leaf after the binding (fol. 6^{r}). This is the "outside-inside" or "Insular" method: see No. 8 (Laur. XLV 15) and above, p. 16.

Gatherings. Quinions.

Signatures. Fol. 9^{v} centre: a and so later (letters of Irish form filled with red and surrounded with red or black dots).

Script. Insular round hand. Apparently done on the Continent. Subscription of Holcundus (not an Irish name, — see Lindsay, *loc. cit*). Three hands, A, B, C, the latter adding the subscription, which he probably found in the original.

Corrections in an early Continental hand (Plate XVIII. 2). Notes to indicate lections.

Punctuation. Nothing for the half-pause. For the whole pause . . . ·:· :: :; ::, etc.

Description of the Manuscripts

Abbreviations. In general, Insular. aꝑ (*apud*) ħ (autem) ꝯ (*contra*) ++ (enim) ÷ (*est*) n̄ (*non*) *Noster* nr̄i nr̄o nr̄m etc. ꝑ (*per*) ꝓ (*pro*) q·̇· q·̇, q,̇· (*quae*) q̇ (*quam*) q: q; (*que*) q̇ (*qui*) q̇a (*quia*) q̇s (*quis*) qꝑ (*quod*) q̄m̄ (*quoniam*) s̄t̄ (*sunt*) ŧ (*uel*) ī (*in*) ꝝ (*rum*) ṫ (*tibi*) ṫ ꝛ (*tur*) b: b; (*bus*) d̄s ih̄s x̄ps d̄ns s̄ps s̄cs s̄cificat etc. d̄d̄ is̄rl ir̄l.

Illumination. Red titles. Initials black, red and white (of the Irish shape) surrounded with red dots. More elaborate initials, as part of a decorative title, enclosed in a border. One page (fol. 1ᵛ) composed entirely of ornamentation. Crude and garish colors, red, green, yellow, black, purple. The whole style characteristically Irish.

Fol. 1ʳ: Warnerius. Fol. 53ᵛ: Pippinus rix Francorum. Fol. 109ʳ: Monasterii Sancti Zenonis Majoris Veronae (by Libri).

Date. Assigned to the eighth century by Delisle and Chatelain and regarded as a genuinely Irish product later transported to Tours. Zimmermann thinks that it was written in Northern France about 800 and that it was taken to Tours in the ninth century. Lindsay (*Notae Latinae*, p. 477) calls it a "rude imitation of Insular half-uncial." I see no reason why it might not have been done at Tours perhaps a bit earlier than No. 7 (Egerton 2831).

Plates XVIII. 1 (fol. 2ʳ: Hand A), 2 (fol. 41ᵛ: Hand A with additions in Continental script); XIX. 1 (fol. 75ʳ: Hand B), 2 (fol. 90ᵛ: Hand C).

Nouveau Traité, III pp. 86 and 383, Plates XXXVII, LV. Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pp. xlv, 7, Plate VI. 1, 6 (foll. 2ʳ, 109ʳ). Berger, p. 410. Prou, *Manuel de Paléographie*, 1924, 4th ed., Plate VI (fol. 32ʳ). Zimmermann, pp. 109, 257, Tafeln 217 (foll. 1ᵛ, 52ᵛ); 218 (foll. 32ᵛ, 85ᵛ); 219 (fol. 2ᵛ).

Period III. *The Pre-Alcuinian Style*

11. MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque de l'Université H. 412. St. Augustine, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate; Ordines Varii.*

133 leaves. 170 × 128. 1 col., 129 × 90. 21 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S.

Script. Improved Cursive. Square capitals with angular C. Good uncials in titles, though with an occasional rounded ɒ. Semiuncials of a plain sort, with a few ornate touches. Minuscules in a hand closely resembling that of Fredegaudus in the Vatican Livy (No. 16). It is found also in Nos. 14 (B. N. 5726) and 15 (B. N. 13759).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few on a page, but fairly wide in range. ihs̄ x̄p̄s̄ t̓ (regular) t̋ (not infrequent, but most, possibly all, by later correction). Also sic̄ (*sicut*) sup̓ (*supra*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials, also a few ornamental initials with designs of Tours in simple colors.

To Montpellier from the library of Bouhier.

Plate XX. 1 (fol. 3^{r}), 2 (fol. 3^{v}), 3 (fol. 87^{r}), 4 (fol. 96^{v}).

12. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 1711 (Colbertinus). Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum et Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani* (incomplete).

37 leaves. 273 × 192. 1 col., 210 × 140. 28 (29) lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., regularly on the outer, once on the inner leaf.

Script. Improved Cursive. Probably by one hand (possibly by three very similar hands), suggesting the style of the Vatican Livy (No. 16). Mixed majuscules, imperfect uncials. Touches of semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. x̄p̄s̄ *Tur* (rarely abbreviated) n̓ (with semi-circle or loop rather than apostrophe).

Illumination. Red and black titles. The only approach to a decorated initial is shown on Plate XXI. 1.

Plate XXI. 1 (fol. 7^{r}), 2 (fol. 29^{r}).

13. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5581 (Colbertinus). *Martinellus.*

112 (not 116) leaves. 238 × 157. 1 col., 175 × 115. 21 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the inner leaf. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 16.

Script. Improved Cursive. Mixed majuscules. Uncials generally good, semiuncial rare and imperfect. Minuscule, one hand, round and clear, occasionally (as fol. 3^{v}) approaching the large style of Tours 10 (No. 17).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps t (the semicircle; in a few cases changed to t by another hand).

Illumination. Red and black titles, with occasional touches of silver.

Plate XXII. 1 (fol. 3v), 2 (fol. 32r).

14. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5726 (Colbertinus, Thuaneus, Pithoeanus). Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Books VI–X.

166 leaves. 325 × 236. 1 col., 210 × 146. 27 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S. on the outer leaf. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 12.

Script. Improved Cursive, mainly in a hand very similar to that of Fredegaudus of the Vatican Livy (No. 16). See also Nos. 11 (Montpellier H. 412) and 15 (B. N. 13759). An assisting hand, B, appears on fol. 21r and elsewhere. Mixed majuscules, including imperfect rustic capitals. Also, at times, fairly good rustic capitals. Semiuncials very rare, and imperfect.

Corrections and initial supplement in the hand of Lupus Servatus of Ferrières (as was first observed by C. H. Beeson, who will shortly publish a corpus of the manuscripts written or corrected by Lupus).

Abbreviations. Regular. Rare. t and t, but the latter is probably due to a later corrector (Lupus?). Lupus has among his abbreviations t (*tur*) t (*tus*) and s› (*sed*).

Illumination. None, though possibly more elaborate initials were intended (Plate XXIII. 2).

Plates XXIII. 1 (fol. 21r: Hands A and B), 2 (fol. 32v: Hand A).

15. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 13759 (Corbie). *Martinellus*.

154 leaves. 234 × 175. 1 col., 165 × 106. 22 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the inner (once on the outer) leaf. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 13.

Script. Improved Cursive. In the same hand as No. 14 (B. N. 5726), and very similar to that of Fredegaudus of the Vatican Livy (No. 16). See also No. 11. At times cursive traits are avoided, at times they are plentiful. Majuscules (square capitals, rustic capitals and uncials) generally well made but not true to type. Semiuncials rather abundant but somewhat imperfect.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ and $\overset{2}{t}$ (the latter in many and perhaps all cases corrected from $\dot{t}$, the correcting stroke being carefully made).

Illumination. Red titles. Simple black, red, and red and black initials, with crude renderings of familiar designs of Tours.

Evidently a present from Tours to Corbie, from which monastery the ancient uncial manuscript of Livy (*Puteanus*) was loaned to Tours, where a copy (the Vatican Livy) was made by Fredegaudus and his associates. See No. 16.

Fol. 1^{r}: liber S. Petri Corbeiensis.

Plates XXIV. 1 (fol. 1^{r}), 2 (fol. 5^{v}); XXV. 1 (fol. 41^{r}), 2 (fol. 75^{r}).

J. Gwynn, *The Book of Armagh*, p. cclxviii, N. 1.

16. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 762. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, the Third Decade (incomplete at beginning and end).

258 leaves. 321 × 243. 1 col., 220 × 164. 29 (27, 28, 30) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S., with some random selections from a pile.

Signatures. Numerals, some in the centre (e. g., fol. 6^{r}: VI), some at the right (e. g., fol. 232^{v}: XXXVI).

Script. Improved Cursive, sometimes exceedingly cursive. Eight scribes, whose names are signed at the ends of certain gatherings, probably by the director of the scriptorium. The scribes are, in the order of their appearance: Gyslarius, Aldo, Fredegaudus, Nauto, Theogrimnus, Theodegrimus, Ansoaldus, Landemarus. The section signed Landemarus is really the work of two scribes, the first probably being Theodegrimus again. On fol. 225^{r} (Plate XXVII. 3) an omission is supplied in the lower margin by a hand apparently not identical with any of the others. Crude mixed majuscules, rustic capitals, uncials and semiuncials. The hands nearest to the Regular Style are those of Aldo, Fredegaudus and Nauto. The most cursive is that of Ansoaldus.

Abbreviations. Regular. Very rare, except in urgent cases. $\dot{t}$ (*tur* generally not abbreviated). Some ancient suspensions, like $\overline{\text{PP}}$ $\overline{\text{TR}}$· $\overline{\text{PL}}$, taken over from the original. See *The Vatican Livy*, pp. 40 ff., for the symbols used by the different scribes.

Illumination. Black, red, and black and red titles. Simple initials. The first line of the text of certain books is in red.

The manuscript was copied from the ancient uncial manuscript of Livy, the Puteanus (Paris, B. N. lat. 5730) brought to Tours from Corbie (Chatelain). The appearance of the names of the scribes in the St. Gall list of the monks of Tours, noted by Traube, might indicate that the writing was done under Fridugisus, whose name heads the list. But at the time the list was composed (shortly after 818) the scribes in question, judging from their position on the list of 219 names (No. 42–77), would be among the older members. Quick work was necessary: the old manuscript was divided into its parts, which were copied simultaneously. The most competent and vigorous scribes would be selected for such a task. The scribes would be in their vigor shortly before the arrival of Alcuin or in the early part of his régime. Their work does not show the presence of the Regular Style. It is hardly possible that a book could be written by as many scribes as late as the second decade of the ninth century without some signs of the Reform. The prevailingly cursive character of the writing in this book cannot be paralleled in any of the manuscripts of Tours of the early decades of the ninth century written by the like number of scribes. At the same time, some of the hands are well along towards the Reform and need only a push to land them there.

Plates XXVI. 1 (fol. 6^{r}: Gyslarius), 2 (fol. 32^{r}: Aldo), 3 (fol. 62^{r}: Fredegaudus), 4 (fol. 98^{v}: Nauto); XXVII. 1 (fol. 100^{r}: Theogrimnus), 2 (fol. 140^{v}: Theodegrimus), 3 (fol. 225^{r}: Ansoaldus), 4 (fol. 242^{v}: Landemarus).

Chatelain, *Pal. Class. Lat.*, Pl. CXVII (fol. 201^{v}). Rand and Howe, *The Vatican Livy* (pp. 23 ff., for references to Chatelain, Traube and Shipley). Plate 3 (fol. 32^{r}: Aldo); 4 (fol. 62^{r}: Fredegaudus); 5 (fol. 173^{r} and 157^{r}: Theodegrimus); 6 (fol. 6^{r}: Gyslarius); 7 (fol. 16^{v}: Aldo); 8 (fol. 68^{v}: Fredegaudus); 9 (fol. 99^{v}: Nauto and Theogrimnus); 10 (fol. 120^{v}: Theogrimnus and Theodegrimus); 11 (fol. 141^{v}: Theodegrimus with signature of Theogrimnus); 12 (fol. 228^{r}: Ansoaldus); 13 (fol. 236^{v}: signed Landemarus, probably by Theodegrimus); 14 (fol. 242^{v}: Landemarus).

17. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 10 (St. Martin 151). *Bible* (*The Octateuch*).

351 leaves (+ one ancient fly-leaf). 353 × 257. 2 coll., 273 × 80. 30 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S., with random selections from a pile. This latter fact accounts for the apparent cases of N. S. (See above, p. 17.) In Q. I, XI, XVII, XXI, one pair of leaves and in Q. XLIV two pairs have convex lines confronting convex as the flesh-sides, — no correspondences. In Q. X, the ruling (O. S.) is in the flesh-side.

Script. Improved Cursive of a large and stately variety with an ancient aspect, suggesting the manner of semi-uncial or uncial. Assigned to the end of the eighth century by Dom Wilmart. "Scripturam tempore Caroli Magni usurpatam exhibet et inter prima eiusdem specimina iure habetur" (Dom Quentin, *Genesis*, p. xxvi). Foll. 1–6, containing the preface *Desiderii mei* and the beginning of *Genesis* are a later but not much later supplement. The original gathering may have been mislaid soon after it was written. The hand (A) has the characteristics of the other hands and should be regarded as contemporary (Dom Wilmart). The script-spaces are of the same dimensions as those in the rest of the book.

The main hands are B (foll. 7-23) and C (foll. 24–351). The latter is supplemented once by a course hand (D, fol. 54^{r}) and may be relieved here and there by other hands, including B. It is not impossible that B does the whole book (except the parts of A and D), changing his style from time to time. Mixed majuscules with forkings. Imperfect semiuncial, like that in the Vatican Livy. The Capitula and the *Incipit* for *Ruth* are by a later hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. *Tur* not abbreviated except for the few cases of $\overset{2}{t}$ in Hand A. In the small capitulary script, abbreviations are more plentiful and include some unusual symbols, which either attest a lingering influence of the Irish at Tours or are derived from the original of the present book. $\bar{o}$ (*con*) $\overline{ee}$ (*esse*) $\overset{i}{m}$ (*mihi*) nob (*nobis*) $\bar{n}$ (*non*) $\bar{p}$ (*per*) $\bar{p}$ (*prae*) $\bar{p}$ (*pro*) $\bar{q}$: (*quae*) $\overline{qnm}$ (*quoniam*) $s_{\circ}$ (*sed*) $\bar{s}$ (*sunt*) scd (*secundum*)

corpor̄ (*corpore*) remissiō̄ (*remissionem*) eor̓ (*eorum*) iter̓ (*iterum*) nouer̓ (*nouerunt*) moriat̓.

On the ancient fly-leaf: liber sancti martini turonensis (*saec.* XII). Fol. 164^{r}: multiplicati (*sic*) sunt referunt, with neums of Fleury, saec. X/XI (Dom Beyssac). Possibly the book was loaned to Fleury, or a monk from that place added words and neums during a visit to Tours.

Text. One of the sources for Alcuin's edition of the Bible. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 268, 280–286; *Genesis*, p. xxvi. Dom Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXVII (1925), 5–46; 365–403.

Illumination. Red, or red and black titles. Simple red or black initials, some with primitive designs of Tours.

Plates XXVIII (fol. 9^{r}: Hand B); XXIX. 1 (fol. 1^{v}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 221^{r}: Capitulary script); 3 (fol. 127^{v}: Hand "C"), 4 (fol. 270^{r}: Hand B).

Berger, p. 419. Ph. Lauer, *La Réforme Carolingienne*, pp. 20–21; Pl. VII, 5 (fol. 8^{r}). E. K. Rand, *Speculum*, II (1927), 61 ff.; Plates V (fol. 25^{r}: Hand C), VI (fol. 2^{r}: Hand A).

18. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 286 (St. Martin 29). St. Augustine, *De Musica.*

116 leaves. 273 × 202. 1 col., 210 × 238. 23 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S. generally on the inner, sometimes on the outer leaf.

Script. Improved Cursive. Two main hands, A and B, with at least two relieving hands. The general style suggests that of the Vatican Livy (No. 16). I formerly compared A with Fredegaudus and B with Aldo (*Speculum*, *op. cit.*, p. 163). See also No. 54 (B. N. lat. 9652, fol. 58^{r} = Plate LXVI) for something similar to A (fol. 49^{v}) and No. 58^{r} (B. N., N. A. lat. 1595, fol. 113^{r}), for something similar to B (fol. 60^{r}). If these are the same hands, they have, in the later manuscripts, passed through the Reform. Semiuncials imperfect and very rare. Mixed majuscules.

Abbreviations. This manuscript contains a wealth of ancient *notae*, a list of which is given in *Speculum*, *op. cit.*, pp. 165 ff. At the

beginning of the manuscript, a corrector replaced many of them by the customary symbols or the whole words, but luckily he tired of his task. Among the Regular Abbreviations, the symbol of *tur* is always t́.

Glosses. An important set in a contemporary hand.

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Plate XXX. 1 (fol. 58^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 83^{v}: Hand B), 3 (fol. 77^{r}: Hand B). (All somewhat reduced.)

E. K. Rand, "A Nest of Ancient Notae," *Speculum*, II (1927), 160–176. Plates I (foll. 13^{v} and 20^{r}: Hands A and C); II (fol. 49^{v}: Hand A); III (fol. 54^{r}: Hand D); IV (fol. 60^{r}: Hand B); V (fol. 69^{v}: Hand B); VI (foll. 73^{r} and 79^{r}: Hand B). (Plate V only slightly reduced; the others are reduced somewhat.)

Late or Uncertain Members of Group III

19. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 4333 B. *Regulae Monasticae.*

73 leaves (fragmentary at the end of the book). 190 × 125. 1 col., 140 × 110. 18 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. regularly on the outer leaf. (*Palae. Lat.* V, No. 9.)

Signatures. In Q. II and III, red letters in the centre; thereafter /$\overline{\text{q}}$ and numeral in the centre.

Script. Improved Cursive. Two hands: A, suggesting Hand A in No. 38 (Troyes 1742); B nearly Regular (only fragments remain), large and bold, somewhat like Hand A in No. 17 (Tours 10). Mixed and imperfect majuscules with some in outline as in No. 3 (B. N., N. A. lat. 1575). Occasional angular C. Semiuncial rare and imperfect.

Abbreviations. Regular. i$\overline{\text{hu}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t́ (the apostrophe, sometimes the semi-circle).

Neums, fol. 73^{r}, surely of Tours (Dom Beyssac).

Illumination. Crude. Red and black titles and initials, the black initials sometimes bordered with red dots. Rude drawing of a baptism, fol. 26^{v} (probably later). This manuscript would seem just to have preceded the Reform or soon to have followed its appearance.

Plate XXXI. 1 (fol. 1^{v}), 2 (fol. 26^{v}), 3 (fol. 73^{r}), 4 (fol. 73^{v}).

20. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 532. Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium*; Paulus Diaconus, *Versus in Laudem Sancti Johannis Baptistae.*

35 leaves. 220 × 180. 1 col., 145 × 99. 17 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the inner leaf.

Script. Improved Cursive, suggesting that in No. 18 (Tours 286). Excellent square capitals, good rustic capitals and uncials. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps *tur* generally written out, but t several times, possibly but not probably corrected from t.

Text. One of the two best representatives of the best family of manuscripts of this work.

Glosses (hand of the end of the 9th century) from the *Commentary* of Johannes Scottus. See E. K. Rand in Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, I, 2 (1906), 28.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles.

Date called *saec.* IX/X by C. Stornajolo in the catalogue (*Codices Urbinates Latini*, II, 1912, 29). I should rather say *saec.* VIII/IX. See *Rassegna Gregoriana*, XI (1912), 272. Possibly the cases of t compel a later dating (c. 820), but the character of the script seems to me against it. It might have been written shortly after the appearance of the Reform.

Plates XXXII. 1 (fol. 1r), 2 (fol. 1v); XXXIII. 1 (fol. 33v), 2 (fol. 34r).

21. VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek 89 (Salzburg 72). P. Sextus Rufus, *De Gestis Romanorum*; S. Isidore, *Ordo temporum*; *Glossae Variae*, etc.

191 leaves. 291 × 180. 2 cols.; 240 × 60. 36 lines.

Script. Improved Cursive, with imperfect semiuncials.

I have not examined this manuscript recently or adequately. It may be no book of Tours.

22. VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek 418 (Salzburg 266). *Canones.*

174 leaves. 300 × 180. 1 col., 220 × 120. 27 lines.

Script. Improved Cursive, with imperfect semiuncials.

I have not examined this manuscript recently or adequately. Possibly it is no book of Tours.

The Manuscripts of Tours

Period IV. *The Reforms of Alcuin*

23. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 22 (St. Martin 247). *Gospels.*

279 leaves. 310 × 233. 2 cols., 226 × 63. 25 lines.

(Foll. 1–278, 286 are original; foll. 279–285 a later addition; foll. 287–288, possibly ancient fly-leaves. Fol. 289 pasted to 288 contains "Serment que font les Princes et Barons lors qu'ils sont reçus Chanoines d'honneur dans l'église de St. Martin.")

Ruling. Very elaborate. (*Palae. Lat.* V, pp. 76 fol.) Parchment carefully prepared, Rules I and II sometimes broken. Ruling on each page with lines for top as well as bottom of tables. Done in lead, generally red for lines of text and inner columns, and brown for outer columns; in some cases these colors have faded or, perhaps, were never used. An exception in ruling in the early Middle Ages. The Gospels of Godescalc (B. N., N. A. lat. 1203), written in gold on purple pages, were ruled *à la pointe sèche*, sometimes 2 O. S., but generally on the hair side of each leaf. Sometimes (e.g., fol. 8^{r}) a new set was ruled on the flesh-side. Rule II is generally kept, Rule I frequently broken. This is elaborate ruling, but not so elaborate as that of the present book.

Script. Gold uncials apparently of the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century. At least four main hands, with perhaps one or two relieving hands. The style is Irish according to Berger (p. 47) — apparently on the strength of the abbreviation ħ — but he adds "quoique admirablement formé à l'écriture française." I hardly think that an Irishman could have written such uncials.

Abbreviations. Few. $\overline{\text{AUT}}$ (*autem*; once, fol. 65^{r}, ħ, written above the line) ·$\overline{\text{EE}}$· (*esse*; at the end of a line, rustic capitals are used) ·$\overline{\text{EET}}$· (*esset*) ·$\overline{\text{E}}$· (*est*; once ÷ in a crowded place at the end of a line, fol. 39^{v}) $\overline{\text{MS}}$ (*meus*, rare) $\overline{\text{N}}$ (*non*) *noster* ($\overline{\text{NRM}}$ $\overline{\text{NRIS}}$ $\overline{\text{NROS}}$ $\overline{\text{NRA}}$ $\overline{\text{NRAM}}$) $\overline{\text{OMS}}$ (*omnes*) $\overline{\text{OMA}}$ (*omnia*) ꝑ (*per*) $\overline{\text{p}}$ (*prae*) (*pro* not abbreviated) q; (*que*) $\overline{\text{qD}}$ (*quod*) $\overline{\text{qM}}$ $\overline{\text{quo}}$ (*quoniam*) $\overline{\text{ST}}$ (*sunt*) *Vester* $\overline{\text{URM}}$ $\overline{\text{UROS}}$ $\overline{\text{URAM}}$ $\overline{\text{UOB}}$ (*Vobis*) $\text{DI}\overline{\text{X}}$ (*dixit*)

DIXERT̄ (*dixerunt*) EOR̄· (*eorum*) *tur* in ligature but not abbreviated B: B; (*bus*) D̄S ĪHS X̄PS D̄NS S̄PS S̄CS S̄CIFICO S̄CIFICATI. The symbols Q̄UO̅, R̄T̄, S̄T̄ and especially ħ and ÷ suggest Irish usage, and may have been in the original. The last two are not the usual symbols of the scribes, but are used in an emergency. There is no clear evidence from the abbreviations that the scribes were Irish.

Punctuation. The dot placed at about the middle of the letter. Sometimes ∴ for full-stops.

Text. Agrees with Tours rather than with the Ada-group. (Berger, p. 272.) Associated with the Alcuinian recension, "*sed colorem magis Hibernicum ostendit*" (Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum*, I, pp. xiii, 720).

Illumination. Titles in dainty rustic capitals of gold or red. Initials, gold and red, in which the vine is prominent. Canon tables containing some of the designs of Tours; abundant gold and various colors with a startlingly brilliant effect and excellent harmonies. The art is that of Fleury, according to Köhler.

This is the book on which the monarchs of France took their oaths as honorary canons of St. Martin's. Traditionally ascribed to the eighth century and, it would appear, rightly so ascribed. "Au plus tôt, VIII^{ex}, au plus tard, IX^{in}" (Dom Wilmart). Berger (pp. 47, 272 ff., 420) argues against the probability that Alcuin continued at Tours the production of books in gold script that he fostered elsewhere. To me it seems the most natural supposition, not controverted by any facts thus far presented, that the book was written under Alcuin. (*Saec.* VIII/IX, *forsan a scriba Hibernico descriptus* according to Wordsworth and White, p. 720.)

Plates XXXIV. 1 (fol. 17^{r}; Hand A), 2 (fol. 95^{r}; Hand B); XXXV. 1 (fol. 147^{r}; Hand C), 2 (fol. 223^{r}; Hand D). All these plates are considerably enlarged.

Berger, p. 420. Bosseboeuf, pp. 47 ff. Paul Vitry, *Tours et les Châteaux de la Touraine*, 1924, p. 27 (reduced facsimile of the Canon table on fol. 11^{v}).

The Manuscripts of Tours

IVA. *The Embellished Merovingian Style*

24. GHENT, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ 102 (Marmoutier). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam.*

I know this book only from Traube's and Köhler's photographs. An excellent specimen of the Embellished Merovingian style, which was apparently cultivated at Marmoutier.

25. HOLKHAM, HOLKHAM HALL 387 (Cluny). Cicero, *Orationes* (fragments).

39 leaves. 318 × 232. 2 cols., 248 × 75. 24 (25) lines.

Ruling. In the mutilated condition of the manuscript, no single entire quaternion exists; yet the principle of ruling is clearly 4 (2) O. S.

Script. Improved (Embellished?) Cursive. Possibly three hands, possibly one main hand whose style somewhat changes and who is relieved by another hand for one leaf (fol. 22[r]). Rustic capitals (including the "K" form of H used extensively for titles and for initial letters within the text). Traces of semiuncials, some of the Ornate sort.

Abbreviations. Regular. t́ (*tur* generally not abbreviated). Technical abbreviations from the ancient original. ·C·N· (for CN., *Gnaeus*) cāēs. (*Caesar*) ciues R. (*Romanos*) C.R. (*ciuium Romanorum*, interpreted falsely by the gloss hand as *ciuis Romani*) equites ·R· (*Romani*) Ē· Q̄· R̄ (*equites Romani* and *equitum Romanorum*) P.C. (*patres conscripti*) P·R· (for PR., *praetor*) ·P·R· and ·P̄·R̄· (*populi Romani*) ·Q· (*Quirites*) res.p̄. rei .p̄. rem.p̄. R̄ P̄ (*rem publicam*) S̄C̄ *senatus consultum* TR.P. (*tribunus plebis*).

Corrections and important glosses by a contemporary hand, who also adds guides for the initialist. Other corrections.

Illumination. Red (faded) and black titles. Simple initials.

The most important of the manuscripts of Cicero for the texts that it contains. Copied from an ancient original, as Peterson states, and most probably from an original in rustic capitals. I put this book tentatively in the present group, but can well believe that it belongs in that immediately preceding.

Plates XXXVI (fol. 27^{v}); XXXVII (fol. 36^{r}).

Chatelain, *Pal. Class. Lat.*, p. 28. Pl. XXVIIa (fol. 12^{v}). W. Peterson, "Collations from the Codex Cluniacensis s. Holkhamicus, a ninth-century manuscript of Cicero, now in Lord Leicester's Library at Holkham," in *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Classical Series*, Part IX, 1901, with three plates: frontispiece (fol. 1^{r}); p. lviii (fol. 16^{r}); p. 11 (fol. 28^{r}). The last two plates are of reduced size.

26. LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit Voss. L. F. 73. Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina in Filium.*

252 leaves. 294 × 235. 2 cols., 230 × 81. 22 lines.

Ruling?

Script. Embellished Cursive. Seven or more hands. Square capitals with forks and flourishes; rustic capitals mixed and decorated; ornate semiuncials used only for first line after a heading and not always there.

Abbreviations. Regular. t́.

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials (with encircled birds and beasts) in single colors.

Text. Of prime importance. See Lindsay, *American Journal of Philology*, XXII (1901), 29 ff. and his edition (Leipzig, Teubner), 1903, pp. xxi f.

Fol. 1: iste liber est de armario beati martini turonensis (*saec.* XII); iste liber est beati martini quicumque eum furatus fuerit aut inadio (*sic* — inadvertentia?) ceperit anathema sit (*saec.* XIII?).

Date. A later member of this group. Put by Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*, pp. 173 ff., at the beginning of the régime of Fridugisus.

Plates XXXVIII. 1 (fol. 39^{v}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 45^{r}: Hand A); XXXIX. 1 (fol. 65^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 110^{r}: Hand B).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 15, 23. Traube, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 268. Bosseboeuf, pp. 66 ff. Köhler, Taf. 12, 5 (fol. 45^{r}).

27. LONDON, B. M. Harley 2790. *Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers.*

271 leaves. 320 × 220. 1 col., 214 × 119. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. Two leaves (46–49, 47–48) are accidentally in N. S. arrangement (see above p. 16). The last gathering (foll. 264–271), a later addition, is 2 N. S.

Script. Embellished Cursive. A beautiful specimen, Post-Alcuinian, probably, but not "imitation de Tours" (Berger, p. 254). Not more than four hands, of which one (B) has no cursive trait except an occasional open *a*; he should be classed as Regular. Square capitals with forks and flourishes and with angular *C* and *G*. Ornate semiuncials lavishly used.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ (*tur* not abbreviated; ligatures of *tur* and *ntur* are preferred).

Illumination. Red and black titles and initials. Canon tables with intertwined beasts and birds and simple colors. The name of the artist, Gedeon, is woven into the ornament of the arch on fol. 23^{r}. The name is found in the list of St. Gall, No. 190 out of 219. He was probably young at the time (c. 820). The book might perhaps have been done about that date. If done before, it could have been the work of an older Gedeon who died before 820 and whose name therefore is not in the list. According to Köhler the manuscript was written early in the régime of Fridugisus. It was later presented by Bishop Herimannus (840–860) to St. Cyr.

Plates XL. 1 (fol. 91^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 88^{r}); XLI. 1 (fol. 211^{r}: Hand D)

Delisle. *École Calligraphique*, p. 11. Berger, p. 388. *Palaeographical Society*, I, Pl. 239 (fol. 29^{r}). *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, II, p. 24, Pl. 44 (fol. 50^{r}). Thompson, pp. 411 ff. Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*, Taf. 12, 6 (fol. 27^{r}).

28. LONDON, B. M. HARLEY 2793. *Psalter.*

146 leaves. 295 × 225. 1 col., 195 × 124. 21 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. Two leaves (97–104, 98–103) are accidentally in N. S. arrangement. (See above, p. 16.)

Script. Embellished Cursive. Beautiful. Three similar hands. Square capitals with some adornment and some mixture. Good uncials. Ornate semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. Rare (except $\overline{\text{qnm}}$). *Tur* not abbreviated.

Illumination. Red titles, silver and black initials, with encircled birds and with various colors crudely laid on. About the same date as No. 28.

Plates XLI. 2 (fol. 3^{r}); XLII. 1 (fol. 33^{r}), 2 (fol. 34^{r}).

Berger, p. 388.

29. MONZA, Biblioteca Capitolare, G. 1. Bible.

400 (396 + 4 fragments of leaves after fol. 73). 515 × 375. 2 cols., 383 × 114. 51 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Improved (Embellished ?) Cursive. Majuscules generally satisfactory. Semiuncial sparse and at times ornate. Minuscules by one hand, clear and graceful, with cursive traits, very similar to Hand B in No. 50 (B. N. lat. 68). The scribe is Amalricus (Berger, p. 222).

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t᷑.

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles. Red, black and colored initials, some with designs of Tours, including interlaced and encircled birds and beasts. Canon tables.

On Amalricus, see *The Vatican Livy*, p. 28. If (as argued there) he was about thirty years old at the time when the St. Gall list was prepared (c. 820), he might have written the manuscript about that time or ten years or so before — but hardly during Alcuin's lifetime. He was *magister scholarum* in 845. See on No. 116.

Berger, p. 394. Boinet, Pl. CL (foll. 322^{v}, 323^{v}, canon tables). Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*, Taf. 12, 7 (fol. 1^{r}).

30. PARIS, B. N. lat. 17227. Gospels of Adalbaldus.

232 leaves. 280 × 190. 1 col., 220 × 120. 21 lines.

Ruling. 2 (4) O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V. No. 15.

Script. The work of Adalbaldus, whose manner varies, now with many, now with few cursive traits, now with an approach to the Embellished Cursive style, but always elegant. Square capitals and uncials regular and excellent. Rustic capitals not used. Semiuncials large and elegant, rather of the Regular than of the ornate type. On the whole, the script should not be classed as Regular.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ *tur* in ligature, t᷑ rarely (inadvertently stated as t̋ in *Palae. Lat.* V, p. 63); once t̋ corrected from t᷑ by another hand.

Illumination. Red and black titles. Simple initials with designs of Tours, including an interlaced beast. Simple Canon tables.

Subscription (fol. 6^{v}) in "Greek" characters: Deus adesto scribente Adalbaldo. Is he the same who wrote the Quedlinburg Martinellus, or an earlier scribe? The St. Gall list has two of the name, No. 58, contemporary with the writers of the Vatican Livy, and No. 152. The former could have written the present manuscript in the latter part of Alcuin's régime and the Martinellus before the close of that of Fridugisus, when his style had become fixed; see above, p. 56–58. The present MS. suggests all of the three styles in evidence during the régime of Alcuin. Later owned by the Jacobins- Saint Honoré (fol. 12).

Plates XLIII. 1 (fol. 1^{r}), 2 (fol. 7^{r}), 3 (fol. 6^{v}); XLIV. 1 (fol. 16^{r}), 2 (fol. 68^{r}).

Berger, p. 409 (with reference to Delisle). Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*, Taf. 12, 8 (fol. 7^{r}).

31. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 18312. *Martinellus.*

129 leaves. 205 × 150. 1 col., 11 × 9. 22 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S. on the inner leaf. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 16.

Script. This is the work, if I mistake not, of Adalbaldus, representing, perhaps, a style still earlier than No. 30. Mixed majuscules, good uncials, semiuncials rude and scarce.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t' (once corrected to $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ by another hand).

Illumination. Red and black headings. Simple initials, less elaborate than those in No. 30, yet with similar designs (cf. Plate XLVI. 2 with XLIII. 1).

In the fashion of Adalbaldus, the scribe ends with an elaborate subscription in uncials and square capitals (fol. 129^{r}) = ADIUUANTE $\overline{\text{DNO}}$ $\overline{\text{NRO}}$ $\overline{\text{IHU}}$ $\overline{\text{XPO}}$ | QUI CUM PATRE ET $\overline{\text{SPU}}$ $\overline{\text{SCO}}$ VIVIT | ET REGNAT PER OMNIA $\overline{\text{SCLA}}$ | $\overline{\text{SCL}}$ORUM AMEN. QUI SCRIBERE | NESCIT NULLUM | PUTAT $\overline{\text{EE}}$. LABOREM | TRES DIGITIS (*sic*) SCRIBUNT | SED TOTA MEMBRA | LABORANT SICUT | NAVIGANTIBUS OPTIMUS | PORTUS ITA SCRIPTORI | NOVISSIMUS | VERSUS.

Plates XLV. 1 (fol. 3^{r}), 2 (fol. 35^{v}); XLVI. 1 (fol. 45^{r}), 2 (fol. 96^{r}).

J. Gwynn, *The Book of Armagh*, p. cclxviii, n. 1.

32. PARIS, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève 1260. *Evangelistary.*
114 leaves. 235 × 170. 1 col., 173 × 116. 21 (25) lines.
Ruling. 2 (4) O. S.
Script. Embellished Cursive. By one hand, closely resembling (perhaps identical with) Hand J of No. 70 (Angers 1), M of No. 49 (Harley 2805) and L of No. 35 (Morgan 191). Good uncials. Ornate semiuncials.
Abbreviations. Regular. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ *tur* in ligature but not abbreviated.
Illumination. Red titles. Simple red initials.
Plate XLVII. 1 (fol. 2r), 2 (fol. 10v).

33. ST. GALL, Stiftsbibliothek 75. *Bible.*
840 pages. 545 × 401. 2 cols., 382 × 117. 51 (50) lines.
Ruling ?
Script. Improved (or Embellished ?) Cursive, with some approaches to the Regular style. Various hands. Ornate semiuncial. Majuscules crude and imperfect with angular *C*. Succession of scripts.
Abbreviations. Regular. x̄ps̄ t̓.
Illumination. Red titles. Initials and Canon tables in brown and white, with traditional designs, including entangled beasts.
Berger, p. 417.
I have not examined this manuscript lately or adequately.

34. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 273 (St. Gatian 123). S. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam.*
272 leaves. 335 × 260. 2 cols., 243 × 85. 27 (26) lines.
Ruling. 2 O. S. except Q. 1., XVII, apparently 2 N. S., but perhaps accidentally; no correspondences. See above p. 16. However, note Abbreviations and Punctuation.
Script. Embellished Cursive. At least four hands. Mixed majuscules. Rustic capitals in *Incipits*. No semiuncials.
Abbreviations. Regular. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ t̓. Also uidebt̓ (*uidebunt*).
Punctuation. The dot, placed at middle of letter, and also low for half-pauses, high for full pauses.
Illumination. Red titles and initials.
Plate XLVIII. 1 (fol. 140v; reduced by two-thirds).

The Manuscripts of Tours

IVA and IVB

Books done in both the Embellished Merovingian and the Regular Style

35. NEW YORK, THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY, MS. 191. *Gospels.*

238 leaves. 278 × 191. 1 col., 191 × 104 (Part II, 190 × 109). 21 lines.

Ruling. 2 (3, 4) O. S.

Script. Part I (Q. I-IX. foll. 1-68). Embellished Cursive. Excellent square capitals, rustic capitals (used in with *Incipits* and *Explicits*), uncials and semiuncials (the latter regular rather than ornate). The hand (L) is also found in Nos. 32 (Ste Geneviève 1260), 49 (Harley 2805) and 70 (Angers 1). Part II. Regular. Three main hands and several assisting hands. Hands M and N allow no cursive traits, which are sporadically used in O and some of the other hands. Excellent square capitals, rustic capitals and uncials. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\acute{t}$ (in both parts).

Illumination. Part II, originally, illuminated in simple style. When Part I was added, the whole book was redecorated more elaborately, with gold initials and headings, purple bands and Canon tables.

The discovery of Hand L in other books of Tours disproves my previous view that Part I is a supplement added in a northern monastery under Franco-Saxon influence. The supplementing was done at Tours later than the date of Part I but perhaps not much later. Possibly Part II was done at St. Martin's (not far from Alcuin's time), and Part I added, with improvements in the illumination, at Marmoutier, about 820. The Regular treatment of the larger sorts of Script in Part I indicates a fairly late date for the refurbishing of the book, since decorated varieties would more naturally accompany an earlier book in Embellished minuscule.

Fol. 1r: San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial.

Plates XLVIII. 2 (fol. 1r: Hand L); XLIX. 1 (fol. 109r: Hand N) 2 (fol. 99v: Hand M), 3 (fol. 120v: Hand O).

See *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle*, (*Studi e Testi* 40), Rome, 1924, IV, pp. 89–104, with small cuts of foll. 3^{r} (L), 105^{r} (N), 169^{r} (T), 199^{v} (a small relieving hand).

36. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 260 (Limoges). *Gospels.*

205 leaves. 290 × 205. 1 col., 204 × 123. 29 (31) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 14.

Script. Embellished Cursive, Improved Cursive and Regular. Five hands. A. (Introductory matter, foll. 1–16^{v}.) An unreformed hand with cursive traits and ligatures; possibly a later addition, but not much later. B. Embellished Cursive. C. Regular (no ligatures and only a few open *a*'s). D. Regular, yet with open *a* and closed semiuncial *a* more frequent. E. Regular, with no (or *very* few) open *a*'s for 23 leaves (foll. 163^{v}–186^{v}), though allowing them more plentifully thereafter (as if he had been obedient to the new instructions long enough). Very similar to Hand B in No. 17 (Tours 10). Square capitals and uncials at times. Regular, at times Embellished. No rustic capitals. Ornate semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\overline{\text{xps}}}$ $\dot{t}$

Illumination. Primitive. Red and black headings and simple initials. Canon tables with early design of Tours, including interlacing beasts and birds. Possibly, though not probably, the Canon tables were added later.

An excellent specimen of the different varieties cultivated under Alcuin. The reform has been proclaimed and is being practised intelligently, though with lapses. The book was later owned by some monastery of St. Amantius in the south of France and came to Paris from St. Martial of Limoges. From a notice in the Catalogue of the latter library, one would gather that the date of the book is 807. See *Bibliotheca Insignis et Regalis Ecclesiae Sanctissimi Martialis Lemovicensis* (Paris, 1730), republished in *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, XLIII (1895), 40 (No. 11): "Capitularia Lectionum et Evangeliorum quae per annum leguntur; in hoc codice reperitur genus quoddam Concordantiae columnis distinctae, maximâ attentione dignae: si fides habeatur inscriptioni infrà positae, illud volumen est an-

norum 923.–No. 260 du fonds latin." I owe this reference to C. M. S. Niver. My notes on the manuscript are extensive and yet to my regret, I find in them no evidence for such a dating — though 807 is surely a plausible date.

[I examined the manuscript again in the summer of 1928 but found no traces of an inscription giving the date. The present binding of the book is stamped with a crown and the monogram of L, standing for some King Louis, evidently Louis XV, since the book did not leave Limoges until after 1730. Possibly the inscription with the date was cut off from a margin in trimming the book for binding — a rather improbable supposition, according to Lauer, who suggested that the designation of the number of verses on fol. 161^{r} (v̄. iiī. ðccc) or fol. 204^{r} (v̄. ī. ðccc) might have seemed to the compiler of the catalogue to contain the date. But how he got out of either 923 years in 1730 is to me a mystery.]

Plates L. 1 (fol. 75^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 112^{r}); LI. 1 (fol. 107^{r}: Hand C, with neums of the South of France according to Dom Beyssac), 2 (fol. 164^{v}: Hand D).

37. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 153. St. John of Constantinople, *Commentarium in Epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos*.

139 leaves. 285 × 225. 1 col., 220 × 165. 35 (27, 30) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular, Improved Cursive and a bit of Embellished Cursive. At least twelve hands, seven of which are Regular (A, C, E, I, J, K, L), with occasional cursive traits in some of them. Hand D is exceedingly cursive, and G has touches of the Embellished Cursive. Hand B is perhaps identical with that of Fredegaudus, F and H suggest Theodegrimus, and C Theogrimnus of the Vatican Livy (No. 16): the first two show somewhat the influence of the Reform, while C has mastered it. Semiuncials of the Ornate type.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihu̅ xp̄s t́, frequently, sometimes changed to t̋ possibly by the first hand (a very few cases of t̋ possibly by the first hand).

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Simple red and black initials.

In general this book illustrates what the style of the Vatican Livy was developing into soon after the appearance of the Reform.

Fol. 2. Poem (added later) of 22 elegiac verses: Hoc correxit opus domini (rest of line erased)/Iusserat hoc scribi sumptibus ille suis/ . . . Pagina quod sordet pumice rasa diu. This subscription does not pertain to the present book but was copied (later) from some other source. The name Rigulfus appears on the page. One Rigulfus was Bishop of Cologne and a friend of Alcuin's (*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I, 221-222, etc.).

Plates LII. 1 (fol. 7^{v}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 37^{r}: Hand F); LIII. 1 (fol. 29^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 41^{r}: Hands G and C).

38. TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale 1742 (Clairvaux). Alcuin, *Liber de Virtutibus et de Vitiis* (*et alia*).

95 leaves. 180 × 112. 1 col., 124 × 77. 17 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Two main hands. A. (Foll. 1-58.) Embellished Cursive. B. (Most of foll. 58^{v}-84.) Regular, with only occasional cursive traits remaining. Good square capitals and uncials. Ornate semiuncial in both parts. No rustic capitals.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄u x̄ps t̓. Also quđ (*quod*).

Illumination. Red titles and red initials, sometimes filled in with blue or green. This filling is probably later, for it is found in an initial in the eleventh-century part of the book (fol. 85^{r}).

Contents. The volume contains two different manuscripts. I. foll. 1-84. II. foll. 85-94, *saec.* XI, *Cantica Canticorum*. MS. I is a pocket Manual of Devotion, containing besides Alcuin's work on the virtues and vices, a collection of prayers (St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Gregory, etc.) closely related to Alcuin's *Officia per Ferias* (Migne, *P. L.*, CI, 509 ff.), and finally the Penitential Psalms with another prayer following and ending incompletely.

Date. Assigned by Köhler, with great probability, to Alcuin's time. It belongs "zeitlich an den Anfang der Gruppe" that he discusses. (*Op. cit.*, p. 174.) "Très pure carolingienne, *saec.* IX^{in}, rappelant

sensiblement le type de Tours" (Dom Wilmart). If we may call this a genuine Alcuinian book, note that the Regular style as well as the Embellished Cursive was cultivated at the time.

Plate LIV. 1 (foll. 59^{v}–60^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 5^{r}, enlarged: Hand A), 3 (fol. 52^{v}: Hand A).

Köhler, *Tur. Hss.*, Tafel (greatly reduced) 11, 2 (fol. 5^{r}); 3 (fol. 52^{v}); 4 (fol. 81^{r}).

Uncertain members of Group IVa

39. BERLIN, Preussiche Staatsbibliothek lat. Q. 404. Cicero, *De Amicitia*; "Seneca," *Sententiae*; Eugenius of Toledo, *Carmen* II. 1–2.

43 leaves. 21 (20) lines.

Ruling (?)

Script. A neat hand, Embellished Cursive. Mixed majuscules in *Incipits* and *Explicits*. Semiuncial letters used as initials (m and the rounded n).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. *Tur* in ligature and t́.

Illumination. None, unless there are red titles. (?)

Date. Written according to Mommsen (*op. cit.*, p. 594) "saeculo decimo vel fortasse exeunte nono." Surely earlier than this — possibly even Pre-alcuinian.

Mommsen, *Rheinisches Museum*, XVIII (1863), 594-601. C. H. Beeson, "The 'Lost' MS. of Cicero's *De Amicitia*," *Classical Philology*, XXI (1926), 120–131. L. Laurand, "Où est le Parisinus Didotianus?", *Revue des Études Latines*, IV (1926), 61–62.

I am indebted to Professor Beeson for allowing me to study his photographs of the text of the *De Amicitia*. I have not seen the book itself.

40. CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale 295 (277). Bede, *Expositio in Lucam*.

183 (not 174) leaves. 495 × 325. 2 cols., 382 × 95. 36 lines.

Ruling (?)

Script. Embellished Cursive. Square capitals with angular *C*. Mixed rustic capitals, imperfect uncials, semiuncials Embellished yet imperfect. Manner of majuscules, semiuncials and minuscules not quite that of Tours. The latter two varieties are sometimes merged (Plate LV. 1). An Insular-looking *g* appears in both semiuncial and minuscule (e. g., foll. 76^{r}, 82^{v}), likewise a *g* not at all like that of Tours (Plate LV. 2).

Abbreviations. Some additions to the regular set, especially the Insular $\overline{qq}$ for *quoque*, found seldom if ever in the genuine books of Tours. $i\bar{h}m$ $\overline{xps}$ $\overset{2}{t}$.

Illumination. Red titles. Colored initials containing patterns of Tours with amplifications.

Presented by Hildowardus, Bishop of Cambrai in 813, 814 and 816. Important evidence for some school (Fleury? Reims ?) under the influence of the Embellished Merovingian Tours, c. 820.

Plate LV. 1 (fol. 7^{r}), 2 (fol. 74^{r}).

41. COLOGNE, Dombibliothek XIII. *Gospels.*

My knowledge of this important manuscript is derived solely from Köhler's photographs. Certain indications suggest some centre influenced by Tours, not Tours itself, though the book may well be, as Köhler thinks, a product of St. Martin's early in Alcuin's régime.

42. COLOGNE, Dombibliothek CVI. Alcuin, *Expositio in VII Psalmos Paenitentiae*, etc.; Bede, *Opuscula et Hymni, et alia.*

Probably not a product of St. Martin's, but of Cologne.

E. K. Rand, *Speculum*, II (1927), 57 ff.; Plate I (fol. 29^{v}). L. W. Jones, "Cologne *MS. 106*: A book of Hildebald", *Speculum*, IV (1929), 27–61; Plates I (fol. 4^{r}), III (fol. 16^{r}), IV (fol. 6^{v}).

43. GHENT, Bibliothèque de l'Université 240. Bede, *Expositio in Apocalypsim.*

I know this manuscript only from Köhler's photographs. Embellished Merovingian, apparently rather from a scriptorium influenced by Tours than from Tours itself.

44. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 1451 (Colbertinus). *Canones.*

108 leaves. 325 × 234. 2 cols., 255 × 195. 35 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 7.

Script. Improved Cursive. Various hands. Some smooth and competent, with a late appearance. Mixed and imperfect uncials. Only traces of semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Somewhat extended. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ t̂ (rarely t̀, once t̋). Also miserd̄ (*misericordia*) q< (*quia*) q̄m̄ quo̅ (*quoniam*) t̀ (*tus*: e. g., *episcopatus* fol. 21ᵛ, *uetus* fol. 100ʳ).

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles. Initials (one with encircled bird). Genealogical tables with rude borders.

Treated as a book of Tours by Köhler in *Turonische Handschriften aus der Zeit Alcuins*, pp. 179 f. After a reëxamination of the book, I find no compelling evidence for ascribing the book to Tours, but would refer it to some other monastery at a date considerably later than 796, the supposed evidence for that date being not at all conclusive. My feeling is shared by competent palaeographers (Lauer and Beeson) and now by Köhler as well.

Plate LVI. 1 (fol. 2ʳ), 2 (fol. 3ᵛ).

Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, pp. 242 ff.; Pl. XXI. 4. Köhler, *op. cit.*, Tafel 11, 1.

45. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 4404 (Colbertinus, "ex Gallia Narbonensi"). *Breviarium Alarici.*

234 leaves. 340 × 220. 2 cols., 286 × 81–91. 31 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., regularly on the inner leaf. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 10.

Script. Embellished Cursive, with forked majuscules, fairly good uncials and crudely Embellished semiuncials. Written by Audgarius (not in the St. Gall list of the monks of Tours), who gives his name in a monogram (fol. 214ʳ).

Abbreviations. Regular. t̂ (the semicircle, with points generally facing down).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials with designs of Tours (somewhat over-developed). Capitula tables with interlacing beast-forms. Crude pictures of Theodosius and others. Crude colors (mainly yellow and brown).

The script seems not of Tours and later than the time of Alcuin (Lauer, Beeson). Careful description by B. Krusch, "Neue Forschungen über die drei oberdeutschen Leges: Bajuvariorum, Alamannorum, Ribuariorum," in *Abh. der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, N. F.*, XX. 1 (1927), 180–188. Facsimile of the pictures on fol. 197^{v} (reduced), Tafel VIII. He says nothing about the date or place of writing, but expressed the opinion to me privately that the book is not one of Tours.

Plates LVII (fol. 2^{v}); LVIII. 1 (fol. 6^{r}).

46. VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque Municipale 518 (472) (St. Amand). *Martinellus.*

164 leaves. 193 × 135. 1 col., 147 × 92. 19 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S. on the inner leaf.

Script. Embellished Cursive. One hand. Good square capitals and uncials, semiuncials of the Regular sort.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t́ (sometimes changed to $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ by another hand).

Illumination. Red and black titles and red initials.

Possibly written at some monastery under the influence of Tours. "Stark Turonisierend" (Traube). It is possible, however, that the manuscript represents the confluence of the Regular and the Embellished Merovingian styles in Alcuin's time, like No. 38 (Troyes 1742).

Plate LVIII. 2 (fol. 38^{r}).

IVb. *The Regular Style*

47. BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek A. I. 5. *Bible.*

423 leaves. 477 × 362. 2 cols., 356 × 116. 50 and 51 (45, 46, 47, 48, 49) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. In Q. XXXIV, the rulings do not correspond, though convex faces concave on the flesh-sides, as in O. S. Two double leaves in Q. XLVIII (378–381 and 379–380) show concave facing concave on the flesh-sides as in N. S., but the rulings do not correspond. This isolated instance is not proof of an acquaintance with N. S. See above, p. 16. The chance arrangement was doubtless due to drawing at random from a pile.

Script. Regular, in both minuscule (except Hand B) and in the larger varieties (the *g* in l. 3 of the semiuncial on Plate LIX. 1 is an isolated freak). At least four main hands. A is the most elegant. B, graceful, with cursive traits retained, revises the entire book. C, regular but less elegant, does most of the work. D is almost equal to C in quantity and superior in quality. Various filling hands, some of no little distinction. The different portions of script seem continuous rather than simultaneous. The book may have taken some time to do.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$ (sporadic cases of $\overset{2}{t}$, but most if not all by another hand.

Illumination. Elaborate borders, medallions, pictures (gold, silver and colors). Purple bands. Titles in red and other colors. Simple colored initials, perhaps different from those originally planned (see Plate LIX. 1).

A typical product of St. Martin's. Not done in Alcuin's life-time, on account of a medallion picturing Alcuin with a halo. Perhaps not too long after his death, on the same account.

Plate LIX. 1 (fol. 380^{v}: Hand D), 2 (fol. 126^{v}: Hand B).

Ada-handschrift, pp. 36, 63 (ornamental *P* of fol. 399^{v}), 75 f.; Tafel 24 (fol. 7^{r}). Berger, p. 376. Boinet, Pl. XXIX (foll. 7^{v}, 339^{v}). Chroust, *Mon. Pal.*, Series I, XVIII, Tafel 2 (fol. 2^{r}), 3 (fol. 8^{r}), 4 (fol. 40^{r}: Hand A), 5 (fol. 237^{r}: Hand D, in the small script of the *Psalms*). *The Vatican Livy*, p. 2; Plate 2 (fol. 64^{r}: Hand C).

48. COLOGNE, Dombibliothek CVII. Alcuin, *Expositio in Iohannem*.

From Köhler's photograph, this would appear to be an Alcuinian book of the Regular sort.

49. LONDON, B. M. Harley 2805. *Bible* (first half).

237 leaves. 525 × 365. 2 cols., 373–382 × 115–127 (1 col., fol. 139, 382 × 273). 51 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Semiuncials sparse and some of them Ornate. About a dozen hands, working simultaneously, on different gatherings; connection in contents with Nos. 50 (B. N. 68), 57 (B. N. 11514), 70

(Angers 1). Three varieties. (1) Regular (best in Hands A, B, C), with some allowance of cursive traits. (2) Survivals of the Improved Cursive Style (in Hands E, I, K). (3) Embellished Cursive: Hand M, found also in Nos. 32 (Ste. Geneviève 1260), 35 (Morgan 191) and 70 (Angers 1). Some irregularities in the majuscules. Semiuncials sparse and at times Ornate.

Contents of gatherings. Significant connection with Nos. 50, 57, 70 and 93 (Troyes 29).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. *Tur* generally not abbreviated, t̓ occasionally, t̋ very rarely and probably by later correction. Once (fol. 102^{v}) n̄ı̄s = *nostris* (a survival from the original).

Illumination. Crude. Red and black titles. A few rude initials with single colors.

Perhaps done at Marmoutier. An early member of its group. A necrology on fol. 1* shows that the manuscript was at Cologne in the eleventh century.

Plate LX. 1 (fol. 47^{r}: Hand G), 2 (fol. 61^{r}: Hand I), 3 (fol. 130^{r}: Hand B), 4 (fol. 110^{v}: Hand M).

Cat. Anc. MSS., II (1884), pp. 4 f., 39 ff. Berger, p. 388.

50. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 68. (Colbertinus). *Bible* (part of *Old Testament*).

159 leaves. 512 × 390. 2 cols., 372 × 124. 50 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S., with some random selections from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 17.

Script. Regular (in the main). About a dozen hands. Cursive traits linger with varying frequency in almost all of them. Hand B, who did the largest share (8 out of 22 quires) allows only a few of them and then under stress. B is very similar to the scribe of the Bible of Monza, Amalricus (No. 29). If the scribes are the same, that book is probably the earlier, since it has more cursive traits. Semiuncials employed unsystematically, with touches of the Embellished variety. (Plate LXI. 2.)

Contents of gatherings. Significant connections with Nos. 49 (Harley 2805), 57 (B. N. 11514), 70 (Angers 1), and 93 (Troyes 29).

Abbreviations. Regular. x̄p̄s t̓ throughout.

Illumination. Plain. Red and black titles, simple initials in which red is the only color.

This book is on the whole to be classed as Regular, but touches of the Embellished Merovingian style are clear. Perhaps done at Marmoutier.

Plate LXI. 1 (fol. 23^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 38^{v}: Hand C).

Berger, p. 402.

51. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5325. *Martinellus.*

143 leaves. 244 × 182. 1 col., 161 × 110.

Ruling. 2 O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 18.

Script. Regular. An admirable specimen. One hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps *tur* rarely t́, more often in ligature.

Punctuation. Occasionally ·,· for a whole pause (e. g., fol. 72^{r}).

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles, and red and black initials.

May well have been done under Alcuin, or not much later than his time.

Plate LXII. 1 (fol. 43^{r}), 2 (fol. 48^{v}), 3 (fol. 72^{r}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 15, 18 f.

52. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 7502, Part I, *Grammatici.*

This is the under-script in the palimpsest portions of this manuscript (see No. 68). A. Q. VIII–IX (ff. 56–71). B. Q. XV–XX (ff. 110–154).

A. Priscian, *Ars Grammatica*, most or all of Book XIV with something (Book XIII ?) before it.

Script. Regular. A large, free hand. Large square capital initials for the beginning of sections and uncials for smaller initials. There are more subtitles (in uncials) than in the upper text and in the edition of M. Hertz (Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, Vols. II–III.)

Abbreviations. t́. In the archetype, probably Insular, ħ *autem* (*hae* by error in our manuscript for *autem*, fol. 62^{v}; Keil III, 45, 2).

B. A work on grammar resembling Priscian but differing from it.

The scribe of the upper text finished Priscian, Book XVIII, in the middle of fol. 153^{v}, leaving the rest of the page only partly erased and not erasing at all fol. 154, both sides of which are completely

covered with the original script. The hand seems earlier (800–820) than the upper script, but not very much earlier.

Illumination (in both parts). Red and black initials.

Plate LXIII. 1 (fol. 154^{v}).

53. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9397 (Marmoutier 112, part). Fragments of a Bible (Parts of *Sapientia*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark*).

84 leaves. 290 × 213. 2 cols., 215 × 75 (55). 25 (24) lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 20.

Script. Regular, with occasional cursive traits and inappropriate use of semiuncial, which is often of the Ornate variety.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄s x̄ps t́.

Punctuation. The dot, generally placed at the middle of the letter, but sometimes low for half pauses and high for full pauses.

Illumination. Red and black titles. A crude initial *O*, green with red dots surrounding it (fol. 17^{r}). Simple red and black initials. Spaces for initials sometimes left and not filled in (e. g., fol. 53^{r}).

Ecclesiasticus is entitled, as often in the Alcuinian Bibles, *Ecclesiasticum* (heading at top of page, fol. 24^{v}).

Apparently typical of the imperfect work of Marmoutier about the end of the second decade of the ninth century. But see No. 55.

Plates LXIII. 2 (fol. 17^{r}), 3 (fol. 15^{r}); LXIV (fol. 53^{r}).

Berger, p. 407.

54. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9652 + 4406 (Beauvais). *Breviarium Alarici.*

B. N. LAT. 4406 contains (ff. 60–67 of the miscellany of which it is a part) only Q. XIII of the original book.

8 leaves. 315 × 237. 1 col., 237 × 160. 25 lines.

B. N. LAT. 9652.

164 leaves. 305 × 235. 1 col., 232–240 × 160. 25 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the outer leaf.

Script. Regular. Mainly, if not entirely, by one hand, very similar to Hand A in Tours 286 (No. 18). The semiuncials are generally of the Embellished variety. Square capitals not quite true to type.

Abbreviations. Regular. t̓. Various technical abbreviations, e. g., agt (*Augustus*); ppo (*praeposito*); constpl (*Constantinopoli*). No traces of *notae iuris*. If they occurred in the original, Hand A of Tours 286 would be just the expert to clear them out of the way.

Glosses by a later hand.

Illumination. Red and black titles. One simply ornamented initial (fol. 112r).

If the scribe is identical with Hand A of Tours 286, he furnishes an instructive example of the effects of the Reform.

Plates LXV. 1 (fol. 112r), 2 (fol. 77r); LXVI (fol. 58r).

55. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9735. (Marmoutier 112, part) *Vitae sanctae Monegundis et sanctae Iulianae* (fragment).

8 leaves. 290 × 210. 2 cols., 215 × 77. 28 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular. Irregular use of rustic capitals. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihu xps. Ligature for *tur* but no abbreviation. Also đ (*dixit*).

Illumination. Red and black titles.

Possibly this example of the Regular style at Marmoutier should be placed a bit nearer to the mid-century. See No. 53.

Plate LXVII (fol. 6r).

56. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 10848. *Martinellus*.

117 leaves. 230 × 170. 1 col., 172 × 115. 21 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 31.

Script. Regular. One scribe, who now and then falls below his standard.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t̓ t̋ (but always, apparently, changed from t̓).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Some simple initials, black, red, red and white, some more elaborate, the harmonies suggesting those in the Moûtiers-Grandval Bible (No. 77) but simpler. Placed by Köhler in the same group as the Bamberg Bible (No. 47). A list of the Archbishops of Tours (fol. 117r) in which the last name is that of Landramnus (816–835) roughly determines

the date. The ruling, the abbreviations and the character of the script tend to place the book much nearer the former date than the latter.

Plate LXVIII. 1 (fol. 64r), 2 (fol. 7r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 14, 18 f.

57. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 11514. *Bible* (part of *Old Testament*).

207 leaves. 483 × 350. 2 cols., 383 × 120. 50 (51) lines.

Ruling. Generally 2 O. S. One half of Q. II, IV, V, 2 N. S., but very possibly accidental. See above, p. 16. The ruling is often faint and hard to make out. Doubtless some random selections from a pile.

Script. Improved Cursive and Regular. Some sixteen hands, of which nearly a half are Regular (despite occasional cursive traits in some of them). Hand F resembles A, and L resembles D in No. 50 (B. N. 68). Semiuncial crude and at times of the Ornate (Embellished ?) variety. Various leaves added by a hand of the eleventh century.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$, occasionally $\overset{2}{t}$, but always, apparently, corrected from $\dot{t}$.

Illumination. Simple, yet more elaborate than that in No. 50 (B. N. 68). Black, red, red and black initials with familiar designs of Tours, including an encircled bird-beast suggesting the Embellished Merovingian variety. Colors in crude harmonies, with occasional use of gold. Bands of yellow, purple, gray and dingy green with lettering in black, green, red and white.

Contents of certain quires show significant correspondences with Nos. 49 (Harley 2805) and 50 (B. N. 68).

Plate LXIX. 1 (fol. 4r), 2 (fol. 74r).

Dom H. Quentin, *Mémoire*, p. 274 (with reduced reproductions of foll. 5r, 169r); *Genesis*, p. xxvii.

58. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1595 (St. Martin 74, Libri 42). St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana*.

147 leaves. 263 × 190. 1 col., 201 × 125. 24 (25, 26, 27) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S., generally on the inner leaf. Ruling crudely done. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 26.

Script. Improved Cursive and Regular. Five hands. A, very similar to Theodegrimus of the Vatican Livy (No. 16). B, like the supplementary hand in No. 14 (B. N. 5726). C, like Aldo in the Vatican Livy. E, like B in Boulogne 51 (55) (No. 65). Hand A begins with an obvious effort to clear away cursive traits, but after the first quire permits them freely. Mixed majuscules in titles. Ornate semiuncials.

Corrections and interesting marginal titles and notes by a later hand (with $\dot{\bar{t}}$), showing a careful study of the text.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\bar{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ *tur* (rarely abbreviated) = $\dot{t}$ and $\dot{\bar{t}}$ (sometimes apparently by the first hand, sometimes corrected from $\dot{t}$, possibly by the hand that wrote the marginalia).

Neums (foll., 136^{v}–137^{v}) accompany a later addition. They are of the eleventh century and suggest Fleury rather than Tours (Dom Beyssac).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Red and black initials with primitive designs of Tours.

Written at a time when the Reform was getting a foothold at St. Martin's, i. e., during Alcuin's régime or just after it.

Fol. 136: monsterii S. Zenonis maioris Veronae (by Libri).

Plates LXX. 1 (fol. 26^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 99^{v}: Hand A), 3 (fol. 77^{v}: Hand A succeeded by Hand B); LXXI. 1 (fol. 114^{r}: Hand C), 2 (fol. 121^{v}: Hand D), 3 (fol. 130^{v}: Hand E).

Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 22.

59. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1712 (Beauvais). Gregory of Tours, *Liber Miraculorum*.

183 leaves. 342 × 247. 2 cols., 250 × 86. 30, 31, 32, 34 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. (Q. XVIII is N. S., no correspondences. See above, p. 16.)

Script. Regular. An elegant and regular hand, A (not always up to its standard), interplays with at least two other less successful hands (B and C) which occasionally allow cursive traits. Semiuncials are at times of an Ornate sort. Q. II (f. 9–16) is a much later addition (perhaps of the eleventh century).

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t (frequent) t (occasional, in most if not all cases corrected by another hand).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Simple red, black, and red and black initials, some filled in (later ?) with faces.

Fol. 106v: Ernolinus me fecit (a much later hand).

Plate LXXII. 1 (fol. 70r: Hand A), 2 (fol. 59v: Hand A), 3 (fol. 7v: Hand B), 4 (fol. 44v: Hand C).

Delisle, *Mélanges Julien Havet*, Paris, 1895, pp. 1–5, with a plate of fol. 70 (reduced).

60. PARIS, Bibliothèque Mazarine 274. *Evangelistary.*

210 leaves. 255 × 247. 2 cols., 287 × 74. 32, 34 (33) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular. At least five hands, with only occasional cursive traits. Majuscules a bit uncertain, and only traces of semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t, invariably changed to t throughout the book by another hand.

Corrections and supplements by a hand of the eleventh century.

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials with familiar designs of Tours, diversely but simply colored.

Date. Falsely ascribed to the beginning of the tenth century in the *Catalogue* (Molinier). An early specimen of the Alcuinian Reform.

Fol. 3 (hand of the eleventh century): iste est liber beati Arnulphi de scirpeio, qui hunc male subtraxerit uel titulum < absciderit ? > anathema sit. Hand of the eighteenth (?) century: ex libris sancti Martini a Campis.

Plate LXXIII (fol. 60r).

61. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 482. *Passiones Sanctorum* (incomplete).

49 leaves. 226 × 165. 1 col., 118 × 87. 20 (19, 21) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S., with some random selections from a pile.

Script. Regular. One hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps t.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Red lettering on purple bands, black on yellow bands. Initials with designs of early Tours (including entangled beasts). Simple colors.

Date. This book may well have been done under Alcuin.

Fol. 1: P. Danielis Aureli.

Plate LXXIV. 1 (fol. 13^{r}), 2 (fol. 37^{r}), 3 (fol. 44^{r}).

62. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 495. *Martinellus.*

120 leaves. 245 × 200. 1 col., 165 × 108. 18 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular. One hand, apparently. Two according to Bannister.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ t́ frequent (sometimes changed to t́^{2} by another hand), t́^{2} (sometimes possibly but not probably by the first hand).

Illumination. Red and red and black titles. Simple red, and red and black initials.

Fol. 1: non Petauuianum.

Fol. 1^{v} contains neums not in the style of Tours.

Besides the usual contents of the *Martinellus*, this book includes Alcuin's sermon on St. Martin (foll. 114–118^{v}). Bannister assigns the book to the eleventh century, but it was apparently written under Alcuin or not long after his death.

Plate LXXV. 1 (fol. 2^{v}), 2 (fol. 7^{v}).

Bannister, *Mon. Vat. Pal. Mus. Lat.*, No. 121, Tav. 14^{b} (fol. 1^{v}).

63. ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek C. 1. *Bible.*

414 leaves. 490 × 362. 2 cols., 362 × 112. 50 (49) lines.

Ruling ?

Script. Regular in the main. At least a half a dozen hands, one or two of them indulging in cursive traits, which also appear in Capitula and in corrections which replace the text. The small, capitulary script is sometimes used for the regular text and a very loose and sloppy variety appears on ff. 281 ff. The semiuncial has at times Primitive traits.

Abbreviations. Regular. t́ (sometimes changed to t́^{2} by another hand).

Illumination. Red titles. Simple initials in red and in red and black. More elaborate initials with traditional designs in simple colors. The most elaborate of them (*F*, fol. 1[r]) is enclosed in an ornamental border with gold lettering on purple bands alternating with red lettering. Canon tables.

The character of the script indicates a distinctly earlier date for this book than that of the Grandval Bible (No. 77), and so does the art, according to Janitschek, who regards it as the nearest approach to a genuine Alcuin Bible (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 74).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 8 f. *Ada-handschrift*, pp. vii, 72 (Ornamental *D* and *B* on fol. 215[r]). Berger, p. 422. Steffens, *Lateinische Paläographie*, ed. 2, Tafeln 46 (fol. 5[r]); 47 (fol. 6[r]), both somewhat reduced. J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 1911, p. 95. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 271 ff. (with a reduced reproduction of foll. 334[v], 319[v]); *Genesis*, p. xxviii.

Later Members of Group IVB

64. BERNE, STADTBIBLIOTHEK 165. Virgil, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*.

219 leaves. 330 × 248. 1 col., 220 × 117 (with cols. of 55 on either side for glosses, only in Q. I–III). 30 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular. Probably two or more hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. t̀ t̂ (more frequent, yet some by another hand) t̀ (*tus* not frequent).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes low for half pauses and high for whole pauses.

Scholia. On the different hands, see J. J. Savage, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVI (1925), pp. 91–164 (three plates), (foll. 32[v], 96[v], 206[v]).

Illumination. Red titles and a few ornamental initials, especially a gold and red *T*. (Plate LXXIII).

Presented to St. Martin's by Berno (Plate LXXIV. 1). If Berno was a pupil of Alcuin's (Bosseboeuf, p. 42), he died before the date of the St. Gall list (c. 820) and the manuscript would have been written

before that time. Certainly not much later, not "in the second half of the ninth century" (*Palaeographical Society*). For another possibility, see Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Possibly (but not probably) it should be placed in Group V. From Tours to Fleury (?), to Pierre Daniel, to Bongars, to Gravisset, to Berne.

Plates LXXVI (fol. 2^{r}); LXXVII. 1 (fol. 1^{v}), 2 (fol. 1^{r}), 3 (fol. 34^{r}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 15, 21 ff. *Ada-handschrift* (Janitschek), p. 83. Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, p. 121; *Paléographie des classiques Latins*, Pl. LXVII (fol. 81^{r}). *Palaeographical Society*, II, Pl. 12. Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*, Tafel 55 (fol. 192^{r}). Bosseboeuf, pp. 38 ff.

I am indebted to Lindsay for various communications with regard to this manuscript. It is elaborately described, with a discussion of its text, in an unpublished Harvard dissertation (1929), *De Codice Vergiliano Bernensi* CLXV, by M. G. H. Gelsinger.

65. BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, Bibliothèque Publique 51 (55). (S. Bertin). *Ex Libris Beati Augustini, de sancta Trinitate Collecta.*

54 leaves. 272 × 211. 1 col., 210 × 128. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. Regular. Two hands. A resembles A of Tours 10 (No. 17), the scribe of Paris B. N. lat. 5581 (No. 13) and Aldo of the Vatican Livy (No. 16), but it has passed through the reform. Hand B has flavors of the Embellished Merovingian, though in general it is regular. No semiuncials. The only majuscules are uncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. Reduced to a minimum; besides *nomina sacra*, obviously used to honor the Name and not to save space, only q: $\overline{\text{qnm}}$ $\bar{\text{n}}$ (rare) $\text{n}\overline{\text{ris}}$ (once) are used.

Illumination. Titles in well formed uncials, gold at the beginning (in a hand resembling A of Tours 22, No. 23) and crimson thereafter. Simple initials, embellished with gold and with crimson dots.

The Excerpts suggest Alcuin's manual on the Holy Trinity compiled largely from St. Augustine and commended by Charlemagne at the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802. The Excerpts might have been compiled at about that time, and the script of the present books suggests a date not much later ("c. 800," Dom Wilmart).

The ruling forces us to a later date, it would seem, not much earlier than 820.

Plate LXXVIII. 1 (fol. 1^r), 2 (fol. 35^r).

66. OXFORD, Bodleian Library 218. Bede, *Expositio in Lucam.*

166 leaves. 331 × 265. 1 col., 288 × 202. 40 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S.

Script. Regular. Probably by one hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps ṫ ṯ (some by later correction) t̊ (rare).

Thorough correction by an English hand, *saec.* IX/X. Addition with neums in a hand of Winchester or Canterbury, *saec.* XI. Corrections and indications of *lectiones* by a hand of *saec.* XII.

Illumination. Simple. Red and black initials, red titles.

Plates LXXIX. 1 (fol. 69^r: with a correction by the English hand), 2 (fol. 114^v); LXXX (fol. 166^r).

67. PARIS, B. N. lat. 6115 (Memmianus). Suetonius, *Vita Caesarum.*

126 leaves. 220 × 205. 1 col., 173 × 143. 29 lines.

Ruling. 2 (4) O. S. on the outer leaf. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 30.

Script. Regular. Minuscules rather small, but not so small as in Capitulary script. Apparently by only one hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ṯ and rarely ṫ. In a passage written by correction in an erasure (fol. 3^r), the width of the scribe's range is apparent. It is only an emergency that drives him to abbreviations like nanc̣t and ī (*in*).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Simple initials.

By no means an *édition de luxe.*

Fol. 1^r: iste liber est de armario beati Martini Turonensis (*saec.* XII).

Plates LXXXI (fol. 1^r); LXXXII. 1 (fol. 120^r), 2 (fol. 3^r).

Chatelain, *Pal. Class. Lat.*, Pl. CLXXXIII. 2 (fol. 71^r). M. Ihm, *C. Suetoni Tranquilli De Vita Caesarum recensuit* (Leipzig, 1907), Tab. I (fol. 72^r); II (fol. 116^r). E. K. Rand, "On the History of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius in the Early Middle Ages," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXVII (1926), 1, 37–39.

68. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 7502 (Colbertinus). Priscian and Lucan.

Part I. *Grammatici* (under-script. See No. 52).

Part II. Priscian, *Ars Grammatica*, Book II (part) — XVIII.

Part III. Lucan, see No. 154.

154 leaves. 352 × 275. 1 col., 288 × 170. 37 (35, 36, 38) and in Q. X–XIII (foll. 72–103) 54 (53, 55, 57) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S. Sometimes on the outer and sometimes on the inner leaf.

Script. Regular. Five or more hands, sometimes full and round, sometimes of the "tiny" variety. At its best, the script has the elegance of some of the Grandval hands (fol. 103^{v}).

Abbreviations. Regular, with numerous other symbols doubtless taken from an Insular original. t᷑ t᷒ t᷎ (rare) t᷍ (some but not all corrected by another hand — the glossator?). Also a̅p̅ (*apud*) a̅u̅ (*autem*) dr̄ (*dicitur*) dm̄s̄ (*dicimus*) dı̄n̄t̄ (*dicunt*) ÷ (*est*) 7 (*et*) ħ (*haec*) ḣ (*hoc*) m̊do (*modo*) inđ (*inde*) i᷑m̄ (*mihi*) n̄o̅ (*non*) n̄oa̅ (*nomina*) o̅nes̄ o̅ma̅ o̅nibus p᷑ (*pri*) q̧ (*quam*) qnđ q̄n̄ (*quando* q< (*quia*) q̄n̄ q̄uo̅ (*quoniam*) q̄q̄ (*quoque*) q̄t̄ (*quot*) sic̄ (*sicut*) i᷑t̄ (*tibi*) unđ (*unde*) ů̄ (*uero*) t᷎ (*tus*).

Glosses. Somewhat later (t᷍ consistently). Some in Tironian.

Illumination. Red and black titles and initials. On fol. 89^{r}, a large square capital *G*, in the manner of those in the under-script. Possibly both texts were copied from a sumptuous original written under Alcuin or not long after his time.

Plate LXXXIII. 1 (fol. 52^{v}), 2 (fol. 103^{v}).

69. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 289 (Marmoutier 101). St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum*.

88 leaves. 360 × 280. 2 cols., 225 × 94. 36 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S. on the outer leaf.

Script. Regular. Several hands. A few cursive traits rarely. Semi-uncial rare and of the Ornate type.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄s x̄p̄s t᷑ (sometimes changed to t᷍ by another hand, sometimes t᷍ apparently by the first hand).

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Plate LXXXIV (fol. 12^{r}: Hand B).

Description of the Manuscripts

Period V. *The Régime of Fridugisus*

70. ANGERS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1-2 (S. Aubin). *Bible* (two parts of one work).

212 and 207 leaves. 462 × 330, 2 cols., 381 × 218. 51 (50, 52) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S., except MS. 1, Q. I, 2 N. S. MS. 2, Q. XIII, XIV, 2 NS (correspondences).

Script. Semiuncial infrequent; at times Embellished. Explicits sometimes in square capitals, which at times are mixed. In the minuscule, at least a dozen hands, most of them Regular, but with occasional cursive traits. Hands H and J, Embellished Cursive. Hand J found also in No. 32 (Ste. Geneviève 1260); No. 35 (Pierpont Morgan Library 191); No. 49 (Harley 2805).

Contents of gatherings. Significant connections with No. 49 (Harley 2805) and No. 50 (B. N. 68).

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ (occasionally $\tilde{t}$ and rarely $\overset{2}{t}$, the latter perhaps by another hand).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials. Canon tables. Simple colors. Motives of Tours (including encircled birds) a bit overdeveloped.

Possibly done at Marmoutier, about 820, when N. S. was just coming in. (*Contra*, Berger, pp. 220 f.) One might be inclined to ascribe the book to Angers itself, were it not for its association with Nos. 49 and 50.

Plates LXXXV. 1 (MS. 1, fol. 35^{v}: Hand C), 2 (fol. 104^{r}: Hand H), 3 (fol. 172^{r}: Hand J); LXXXVI. 1 (MS. 2, fol. 9^{r}: Hand L), 2 (fol. 21^{v}), 3 (fol. 13^{v}), 4 (fol. 27^{v}). The last three plates are reduced.

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 10; Berger, p. 375.

71. BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek H. J. IV. 12. Boethius, *Arithmetica*.

139 leaves. 232 × 175. 1 col., 168 × 111. 19 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. (less frequently 4 and 3 O. S.). In Q. IV, XII, XIII and XVII, instances of convex confronting convex on flesh-sides occur, possibly indicating that the new style had come in, though not employed regularly in this book.

Script. Perfected.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\acute{t}$ $\hat{t}$ ($\overset{2}{t}$ rarely and by another hand).

Illumination. Beautiful and elaborate (gold, silver, colors, purple bands and script spaces). Titles in red and other colors. Borders, capitula tables, mathematical diagrams, initials, medallions, and multitudinous birds and beasts (a Carolingian bestiary in the guise of a text-book).

Presented to a monarch of the same name as his grandsire, therefore Charles the Bald. Hence after 832, but very close to that date, I should infer, owing to the rulings and the abbreviations. Chroust, on the other hand, would set the date nearer to 843, on account of the "politische Verhältnisse."

A splendid monument of the efficacy of Fridugisus, (or his immediate successor), with the elegance of Adalbaldus though not in his hand.

Plates LXXXVII. 1 (fol. 7^{v}), 2 (fol. 66^{v}); LXXXVIII. 1 (fol. 70^{v}), 2 (fol. 90^{v}).

Berger, p. 376. *Ada-handschrift* (Janitschek), p. 84. N. Bubnov, *Gerberti Opera Mathematica*, Berlin, 1899, p. 148. Chroust, *Mon. Pal.*, I, XVIII, Taf. 8. a (fol. 4^{r}), b (fol. 9^{v}). Boinet, Pl. LVII (foll. 2^{v}, 9^{v}).

72. BERLIN, Preussische Staatsbibliothek 126 (Philipp. 1872). St. Jerome, *Chronica Eusebii.*

168 (not 167) leaves. 236 × 217. Columns (162 mm. high) varying in number and width according to the chronological lists required. On fol. 1, two, of 63 mm. each; on fol. 8, seven, of different widths (12-26 mm.) Column-lines often disregarded by the script. 26 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Regular.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overline{\text{ihu}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$.

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Red titles. A few simple initials and flower-ornaments, taken from the ancient original and elaborated.

A copy of an ancient manuscript of the fifth century at Fleury.

Corrections and variants, not of the tenth century (Rose) but, if I am right, in the hand of Lupus Servatus of Ferrières.

Notes added at Tours in a hand *saec.* X or XI.

Later in the Collegium Claromontanum in Paris, thence to Meermann, to Sir Thomas Phillips, to Berlin.

Plate LXXXIX. 1 (fol. 1^r), 2 (fol. 32^r).

Traube, *Hieronymi Chronicorum codicis Floriacensis fragmenta phototypice edita* (*Codices Graeci et Latini phototypice depicti duce Scatone de Vries*), Leyden, 1902, pp. iii ff. See V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I (Berlin, 1893), 276. Rose noted that the book is from Tours, but incorrectly dated it "X (IX/X)Jh."

73. BERNE, Stadtbibliothek 3–4. *Bible* (in two parts).

209 and 158 (not 154) leaves. 460 × 355. 2 cols., 382 × 130, 51 (52) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. throughout except MS. 3, Q. XI–XV, XIX, MS. 4, Q. IV = 2 O. S. Various cases of selection from a pile.

Script. Regular. Both parts the work of one hand (A) except for MS. 4, fol. 133^r, col. 2–146^r, where he is relieved by B. Possibly other instances of helping hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄s x̄p̄s ṫ and sometimes ẗ.

Illumination. Simple. Red titles. Initials and Canon tables of simple design, often well drawn and colored harmoniously.

Plate XC. 1 (MS. 4, fol. 118^r: Hand A); 2 (MS. 4, fol. 133^v: Hand B).

Berger, p. 377. *The Vatican Livy*, Plate I (MS. 3, fol. 115^r).

74. CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale 24 (32). *Liber Comitis*

211 (not 212) leaves. 292 × 215. 2 cols., 198 × 62. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. in 13 quires and 2 N. S. in 12.

Script. Perfected. The work of Audradus of Tours.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄s and iħs x̄p̄s ẗ (ṫ rarely). Also ṁ (*mihi*).

Illumination. Simple but elegant. Titles in red. Initials and borders in various colors.

A transitional book, as is shown by the ruling and the abbreviations.

Dom. A. Wilmart, "La Lectionnaire de Saint-Père," *Speculum*, I (1926), 269–278, with plates of foll. 2^r, 2^v, 3^r, 4^r. On the writer's name, discovered by M. le Chanoine Yves Delaporte in an ornamental border, see p. 272. Dom Wilmart allows for a date between 800 and 830 or 840. The above evidence speaks for 820–830, Audradus still being in his prime.

75. LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale 220. Amalarius, *De Officiis et de Ordine Ecclesiastico.*

176 (not 175) leaves. 240 × 184. 1 col., 203 × 136. 26 (25) lines.

Ruling. 4 (2, 3) O. S.

Script. Regular. Semiuncial not frequent and not especially elegant. At least five hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$ and $\dot{t}$. Also q< (*quia*, rare).

Illumination. Simple. Headings in red and once (fol. 2^r) with line in *blue*. Primitive initials with crude colors, suggesting the more simple style in the Grandval Bible. See No. 77.

The text is that of the first edition of this work, *an.* 820–823. It contains the letter of Amalarius in which he recommends the spelling IHC (Migne, *P. L.*, CV, col. 1333). But this spelling is not adopted in the present manuscript. This fact, with the presence of $\dot{t}$ and O. S. ruling, show that the writing was done not long after the work appeared.

Plates XCI. 1 (fol. 8^v: Hand A); 2 (fol. 86^r: Hand C); XCII. 1 (fol. 109^v: Hand F); 2 (fol. 124^r: Hand B, filling space).

76. LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit lat. Q. 20, Part II (fol. 9–144). Q. Curtius, *Historiae*; Esopus, *De ortu actuve ac fini Alexandri Magni; Excerpta Historiarum* Orosii. For Part I, see No. 151.

144 leaves. 263 × 126. 1 col., 210 × 150. 33 lines.

Ruling (?).

Script. Regular. Small. Three hands. Occasional touches of the Ornate variety in the semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. Not many. $\overset{2}{t}$ $\overset{\circ\circ}{t}$ (Plate XCIII. 2) $\hat{t}$ (rare) $\dot{t}$ (rare) b·· Also gꝛae (*gloriae*).

Text. One of the four best manuscripts of Curtius. See E. Hedicke, *Q. Curti Rufi, Historiarum Alexandri Magni libri qui supersunt, iterum recensuit* (Leipsig, 1908), p. vi ("*saeculo decimo*").

Illumination. Simple initials, red titles.

Given by a Bishop Rodolphus to some French monastery, the name of which is erased in several places. It may well be that of St. Martin.

Plate XCIII. 1 (fol. 83r), 2 (fol. 63r).

Chatelain, *Pal. Class. Lat.*, Pl. CLXXXVIII. 1 (fol. 68v). Traube, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 269.

77. LONDON, B. M. Additional 10546. *The Moûtiers-Grandval Bible.*

449 leaves. 510 × 375. 2 cols., 385 × 123. 50 lines.

Ruling. Of the regular gatherings 19 are 2 N. S., 14 are 2 O. S., and 22 are half N. S. and half O. S. Correspondences are sometimes hard or impossible to get, sometimes easy. Apparently the scribes had available two piles one of N. S. and one of O. S. This statement supersedes that in *Palae. Lat.* V, p. 57, made when my notes were incomplete.

Script. Perfected. Exceedingly beautiful. At least five semiuncial and some eighteen minuscule hands, of which six (A, B, H, K, M, O) are of remarkable elegance. A few of the hands show some lingering cursive traits, but these have been largely weeded out.

Contents of gatherings. No significant connection with No. 80 (B. N. 3) or 116 (B. N. 1).

Abbreviations. Regular. Generally few, but a scribe can exhibit a considerable range if pressed for space. ihs xps t̓ and t̋ (in about equal amounts, some scribes preferring one, some the other and some using both). Also (in a very crowded passage, fol. 315v): un̓ magistrat̓ (*tus*) fic̓ c̄testat̓ (*tus*).

Illumination. Elaborate. Two stages: an inferior style, appearing in the canon and concordance tables (no gold or silver) and an exquisitely harmonious style in the initials (gold, silver, colors), impossible to appreciate in reproductions; some of these replace an earlier and simpler variety. Purple bands, gold lettering,

sometimes replacing a lettering in red. Pictures with gold, silver and generally harmonious colors, though lacking the delicacy of the initials.

Alcuinian poems in the book are related, like the pictures, to those in No. 116 (B. N. 1), both manuscripts depending on an ancient source; see Traube, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 264-285.

Date. 820-830. One of the best products under Fridugisus. For the romantic history of the book, see *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, II, pp. 1-4.

Plate XCIV. 1 (fol. 52^{r}: Hand B), 2 (fol. 67^{v}: Hand D). Neither initial fits the space originally designed, and the *L* necessitates refashioning the title.)

Ada-handschrift (Janitschek), pp. 76 ff. Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 8. Berger, p. 389. *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, II, Plates 42 (fol. 429^{v}); 43 (fol. 25^{v}). Kenyon, *Facsimiles of Biblical Manuscripts*, Plate XIV (fol. 141^{v}, reduced: Hand F). J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 2nd ed., 1912, Pl. XI, p. 96 (fol. 449^{r}). Boinet, Pl. XLIV (foll. 5^{v}, 25^{v}); XLV (foll. 352^{r}, 449^{r}); XLVI (foll. 411^{v}, 234^{r}). Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum*, I, pp. xii, 720. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 274 f.; *Genesis*, p. xxviii.

78. LONDON, B. M. Additional 11848. *Gospels of Compiègne.*

219 leaves. 300 × 235, 1 col., 200 × 185. 23 (22, 24) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. (with some correspondences) in four and one half gatherings, 2 O. S. in the remaining twenty-six and one half.

Script. Regular. Elaborate successions of scripts and lavish use of the large varieties. Cursive traits frequent in Capitula and sporadic elsewhere but the general effect is elegant. Possibly as many as four hands, possibly only one.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs $\overline{\text{xps}}$ *tur* generally not abbreviated; t̀ occasionally (t̂ only by later correction).

Illumination. Elaborate. ("assez lourde" (!) Berger p. 250.) Red and black titles; red and gold on purple bands. Borders. Initials in gold and colors, simple in design but with some harmonious effects in colors. Arches for titles and beginnings of text as well as for Canon tables. Pictures, not harmonious in the coloring.

Apparently one of the earliest manuscripts to show the presence of the New Style in ruling. The systematic use of t́ suggests a date not much later than 820. I cannot find, with Corssen, at fol. 15 a change from the genuine style of Tours to an imitative style. Still less can I agree with the editors of the *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* that the book was "written in Germany."

Plates XCV. 1 (fol. 5^{v}), 2 (fol. 13^{r}); XCVI. 1 (fol. 20^{r}), 2 (fol. 75^{r}).

Berger, p. 389. *Cat. Anc. MSS.*, II, p. 26. *Ada-handschrift* (Corssen), p. 37.

79. NANCY, Treasury of the Cathedral. *Gospels of St. Gozlin.*

229 (not 227) leaves. 310 × 225. 1 col., 200 × 125. 23 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Perfected. Probably the work of one hand, which closely resembles that of Adalbaldus. See above, pp. 57 f.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ t́ (less frequently t̂). Plate XCVIII. 2 shows the abbreviations which the scribe knew, but which he avoided unless pressed for space.

Punctuation. The dot, placed at the middle for half-pauses and at the top for whole pauses.

Illumination. Elaborate, but not so elaborate as that of the mid-century books. Red and black titles. Occasional blue ink, both in a title and in a passage written by a corrector in an erasure. Purple bands, gold and silver lettering. Initials, borders, canon tables, pictures. Gold, silver and colors.

Written by order of Arnaldus, but not the Arnaldus who was Bishop of Toul 872–894.

Plates XCVII (fol. 6^{v}); XCVIII. 1 (fol. 139^{v}). 2 (fol. 106^{v}); XCIX (fol. 172^{v}).

A. Digot, *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie Lorraine*, II, No. 1 (1851), 5 ff. (p. 12 for the jewelled cover). E. Auguin, *Monographie de la Cathédrale de Nancy*, 1882, pp. 284 ff. (reproduction of the cover in *Frontispiece* and Plate XVI). Berger, p. 396. Delisle, *Journal des Savants* (1902), pp. 472 ff. Boinet, Pl. XXVII (foll. 3^{v} and 9^{r}); XXVIII (foll. 17^{v} and 111^{v}).

80. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 3. *The Bible of Rorigo.*

409 leaves and a parchment guard-leaf. 500 × 372. 2 cols., 371 × 123. 51 (52) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, pp. 2 ff., and No. 34.

Script. Perfected. At least eight hands, all regular, cursive traits appearing only in some of the capitulary scripts and occasionally elsewhere at the ends of lines. In general, the script is less perfect than that of No. 116 (B. N. 1).

Contents of gatherings. No significant connection with the Grandval (No. 77), or the Vivian Bible (No. 116).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs̄ x̄ps̄ t̄ (rare cases of t̄ in Hands C, E, F).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes placed at middle of letter, sometimes low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red and black titles; blue ink occasionally in the hierarchy of scripts. Gold on purple bands, initials, borders, canon tables. Gold, silver (both, at times, of inferior quality); colors in pleasing harmonies. No pictures. The artist is less advanced than that of No. 116. The two may have drawn from the same source for certain features.

Presented by Rorigo, son-in-law of Charlemagne, to Saint-Maur-sur-Loire (Glannafolium, Glanfeuil) at least as early as 841 (when Rorigo died). A splendid example of the style achieved at the end of the régime of Fridugisus or the beginning of that of Adalardus. Dated by Köhler c. 835).

Plate C. 1 (fol. 4r), 2 (fol. 68r: Hand D).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 9 ff.; *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, pp. 250 ff., Pl. XXV, 1–2; XXIX, 4. *Ada-handschrift* (Janitschek), p. 28. Berger, p. 400. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, p. 275; *Genesis*, p. xxvii.

81. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 250. *Gospels.*

105 leaves. 496 × 365. 2 cols., 398 × 110. 50 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. with some random selection from a pile. Q. XI is half N. S. and half O. S.

Script. Perfected. By two similar hands each allowing cursive traits occasionally.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps t.

Illumination. Elegant but not elaborate. Red and black titles, purple bands, initials, canon tables. Gold, silver, colors in good harmonies.

Berger (pp. 243, 402) compares the text with that of the Grandval Bible (No. 77) and both script and illumination appear to group the two together. This manuscript is apparently one of the earliest books to adopt the new style of ruling. The consistent use of t bespeaks a date near 820. The book was later at St. Denis.

Plates CI. 1 (fol. 52r), 2 (fol. 48v: Hand A, crowding at the end), 3 (fol. 71v: Hand B).

82. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 274. *Gospels of Meaux.*

162 (not 161) leaves. 310 × 230. 1 col., 192 × 117. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 33.

Script. Regular. One minuscule hand, rather small and not specially distinguished.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs IHS xps t and t.

Illumination. Elaborate and tasteful. Red and black titles. Purple bands. Initials, borders. Gold, silver, colors, with harmonies less excellent than the designs.

Plate CII. 1 (fol. 10r), 2 (fol. 16r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 13. Berger, p. 403.

83. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5516 (Colbertinus, from St. Martin's) I. *Liber Pontificalis*, II. *Canons of the Council of Paris of 829 A.D.* The two parts have the same character and belong to the same book, Part II beginning on the second leaf of a gathering (Q. XVIII, fol. 116r).

170 leaves. 250 × 193. 1 col., 186 × 140. 32 (26–37) lines.

Ruling . 4 (3) O. S. on outer (rarely inner) leaf. Lines roughly drawn and sometimes neglected.

Script. Regular and Modified Cursive. Various hands and sizes, including the small capitulary sort and the still smaller sort used for glosses; in the last two, cursive traits are frequent.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihu xps $\overset{2}{t}$ and, less frequently, $\overset{2}{t}$.

Illumination. Titles in black and red.

A *terminus post quem*, 829 A.D., is furnished by Part II. The manuscript was probably written not long after that time. An interesting specimen of the less formal script of Tours.

Fol. 1r: iste liber est de armario beati martini turonensis.

Plate CIII. 1 (fol. 1r: capitulary script), 2 (fol. 116r), 3 (fol. 150r), 4 (fol. 32r: gloss script).

84. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5580. *Martinellus*.

136 leaves. 214 × 156. 1 col., 157 × 105. 22 (21) lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S. on the outer leaf. Some irregularities and careless ruling. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 19.

Script. Regular and Embellished Cursive. Imperfect semiuncials. Four hands in the minuscule, Hand B resembling Hand J in *Angers* 1, etc. (See No. 70.)

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps $\overset{2}{t}$ and $\overset{2}{t}$.

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials and capitular tables with simple colors, including a bit of silver.

Possibly done at Marmoutier.

Plate CIV. 1 (fol. 106r), 2 (fol. 122r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 15, 18 f.

85. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 7774 A. Cicero. I. *Orationes Verrinae* (part). II. *Rhetorica*.

183 leaves (+ 1 fol. added later). 295 × 246. 2 cols., 183 × 65. 21 lines (22, fol. 184).

Part I. Q. I–XIII (foll. 1–102). Q. X is signed (fol. 80v) Q. XXXV. In its original condition, therefore, the manuscript probably contained all of the Verrines. Part II. Q. XIV–XXIII (foll. 103–184). Q. XXI, XXII and XXIII are signed VIII, VIIII and X, so that Q. XIV is really Q. I of a manuscript different from Part I. If it is later, then the ruling and number of lines were conformed to the style of Part I.

Ruling. 2 O. S., carefully done. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 35.

Script. Part I. Regular. Part II. The main hand writes compactly with a closed g and allows some cursive traits, as in the informal styles of No. 83 (B. N. 5516). A larger and more elegant hand (B) makes several corrections in erasure (e. g., fol. 137^{v}) and marginal additions. Only traces of semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overset{2}{t}$. In a correction in erasure in Part II (fol. 127^{v}, not by Hand B), the unusual symbols $\overline{au}$ (*autem*) deinđ (*deinde*) appear.

Glosses. Part II is equipped with an extensive set of glosses and variants in a hand *saec.* XI/XII.

Text. The leading codex for the text of Books IV and V of the *Verrines*. See the edition by W. Peterson, in *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis*, 1907, p. ix.

Illumination. Red and black titles, red and yellow initials of a style not that of Tours. Doubtless a later addition replacing the original set. See Plate CV. 1.

Possibly Part II (and Part I also?) should be dated after the mid-century.

Plate CV. 1 (fol. 1^{r}: Part I), 2 (fol. 137^{v}: Part II, Hand B), 3 (fol. 103^{r}: Part II, Hand A).

A. C. Clark (*Classical Review*, XXX, 1916, 92) would date the manuscript in the first half of the ninth century. K. Simbeck, ed. *De Senectute*, Teubner, Leipsic, 1912, regards No. 176 (Brussels 9591), No. 25 (Holkham 387) and the present manuscript all as books of Tours. Chatelain, *Pal. Class. Lat.*, Pl. XXXI (fol. 80^{v}).

86. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 7959 (Colbertinus). Servius, *Expositio in Bucolicon, Georgicon, Aeneidos Virgilii.*

252 leaves. 295 × 272. 1 col., 200 × 178. 35 (34) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. Q. XXIX apparently N. S., but see above p. 16. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 36.

Script. Regular. Various hands, often in the small Capitulary Script, with some approaches to the Gloss Style (e. g., fol. 76^{v}). Cursive traits occasionally allowed. The occasional use of semiuncials in lemmata suggests that the manuscript may be a copy of a more

elaborate book of Tours in which semiuncials were more systematically employed for this purpose.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overset{2}{t}$ (possibly a few cases of $\dot{t}$ corrected to $\overset{2}{t}$). Also $\overline{ap}$ (*apud*) $d\overline{r}$ (*dicitur*) $d\overline{ms}$ (*dicimus*) n_4 (*nus*) $\dot{t}$ (*tus*). These may be lingering traces (with the use of FINIT in various subscriptions) of some ancestral manuscript in Insular script. Cf. B. N. 7502 (Nos. 52, 68).

Punctuation. The dot at the middle of letters, and also (by later correction) high for full pauses and at the ends of lemmata.

Corrections, glosses, marginal headings by a somewhat later hand.

Illumination. Red titles.

Plate CVI. 1 (fol. 152^v), 2 (fol. 76^v).

I am indebted to Dr. J. J. Savage for a reference to this manuscript, which proved to be a book of Tours.

87. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1490 (Cluny) MS. I (foll. 1–87) Hegesippus, *Historiae* [II (foll. 88–167); Iohannes Scottus, *Expositio super Hierarchias S. Dionysii Areopagitae*. See No. 160].

87 leaves. 297 × 225. 1 col., 230 × 148. 35, 36 lines.

Ruling. Generally 2 (3) O. S., sometimes (Q. II, IV) 2 N. S. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 37.

Script. Regular. Various hands, some round and large, some in the Capitulary, or "tiny" hand. Semiuncials scarce and of the Ornate type.

Abbreviations. Regular. Many, especially in the Capitulary script. $\overset{2}{t}$ Also gl̃a (*gloria*) misericoꝺae $\dot{t}$ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red titles and simple red initials.

Plate CVII. 1 (fol. 72^r), 2 (fol. 24^r).

Dom. A. Wilmart, "Le Couvent et la Bibliothèque de Cluny vers le milieu du XI^e Siècle," *Revue Mabillon*, XI (1921), 25.

88. QUEDLINBURG, STIFTS-UND-GYMNASIALBIBLIOTHEK 79. *Martinellus*.

188 leaves 230 × 166. 1 col., 173 × 92. 17 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S.

Script. Perfected. By Adalbaldus for Abbot Fridugisus. Slight flavor of the Ornate variety in the semiuncials. (Plate CIX. 1, line 16.)

Description of the Manuscripts

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps *tur* not abbreviated.

Illumination. Red and black, gold and black, red and gold titles. Gold lettering on purple bands. Two initials of simple design, gold, silver and indigo.

Script and illumination suggest the period of the Grandval Bible.

Plates CVIII. 1 (fol. 8^v), 2 (fol. 172^v); CIX. 1 (fol. 64^v), 2 (fol. 22^r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 14, 18 f., 28–32. Pl. I (fol. 173^r); II (fol. 109^v); III (fol. 136^v); IV (fol. 113^v). *Album Paléographique*, 21 Pl. I (fol. 172^v); II (fol. 4^v); III (fol. 112^r). Arndt, *Lateinische Palaeographie*, Taf. 33, 34 (after Delisle). Bosseboeuf, pp. 62 ff.

89. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 1484. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos*, Books I–VI.

198 leaves. 358 × 288. 2 cols., 260 × 86. 32 (31, 33) lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. except Q. XII and XIII, which have N. S. with correspondences. Probably N. S. is not accidental here. It is rather the moment when that style was just coming in.

Script. Regular. Splendid and stately, suggesting the style of the Grandval Bible (No. 77). The square capitals have the dignity of an inscription of the Augustan age. In the rustic capitals, the K form of H appears. Some lemmata in semiuncial. At least five hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. t̓ (often corrected by another hand, probably that of Lupus Servatus, to t̋) t̋ in Hand D.

Corrections. Text carefully revised by Lupus Servatus. See Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 482.

Text. Related to that of No. 8 (Laur. XLV 15) and No. 9 (Vat. lat. 1512). See the edition of Tiberius Claudius Donatus by H. Georgii, I, p. xxxiii.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Simple red initials.

Fol. 168^v a poem of ten elegiac verses: Hic situs est abbas h. praeclarus ubique . . . huic bene pensus amor. This seems to be in the hand of Lupus (Plate CXI. 3).

Plates CX (fol. 1^r); CXI. 1 (fol. 3^r: Hand A, with note by Lupus), 2 (fol. 169^v: Hand E), 3 (fol. 168^v).

90. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Urb. lat. 1146. "Apicius," *De Re Coquinaria.*

Title. Incipit Apicae Epimeles Liber. i. (foll. 1–2); Explicit Apici Cepuros de Oleribus Liber Tertius (fol. 16).

58 leaves. 240 × 195. 1 col., 163 × 126. 20 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. in q. viii; both 2 O. S. and 2 N. S. in q. iv and v; 2 N. S. in the remaining five quires.

Script. Perfected. The scribe allows only a few open *a*'s at first, the number then increasing and becoming abundant at the end of the manuscript. In beauty the script is a rival with the best of Tours.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\dot{t}$ and rarely $\dot{t}$ ($\dot{t}$ regularly in the correcting hand). Also sin̄ (*sine*) liquamin̄ (*liquamine*) $\bar{t}$ (tus).

Corrections. Some in a blue ink.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Purple script-spaces with ornamental borders and gold lettering. Arches for capitula with traditional designs and touches of gold and silver. Harmony of colors not so perfect as that of the mid-century.

Date. Ascribed to the tenth century by C. Giarratano, *I codici dei libri De re coquinaria di Celio,* 1912, p. 4, a statement now corrected in *Apicii Librorum qui dicuntur de Re Coquinaria quae extant,* edd. C. Giarratano et Fr. Vollmer, Leipzig, 1922, p. 4 ("litteris Turonicis scriptus saec. IX"). R. Sabbadini, "I codici di Apicio," *Historia,* N. S. I (1927), 42–49. The original of this manuscript and that of Cheltenham (now owned by Dr. Mary B. Wilson of New York) was, according to Giarratano and Vollmer, a book of Fulda. Dr. Wilson is about to publish an elaborate edition of Apicius, with translation, facsimiles, and a discussion of the text.

Plate CXII. 1 (fol. 2^r), 2 (fol. 16^r).

91. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 281 (St. Martin 153) + PARIS, B. N., N. A. lat. 445 (St. Martin 153, Libri 75). *Letters* of St. Augustine and St. Jerome.

230 leaves (216 Tours, 14 Paris). 250 × 205 (Tours), 245 × 196 (Paris). 1 col., 165 × 126. 23 lines.

Ruling. 2 (4) O. S.

Description of the Manuscripts

Script. The excellent hand of Adalbaldus, showing his various moods. He permits a few cursive traits (including subscript *i*) especially to gain space at the ends of lines or merely for the sake of variety. He can also throw in semiuncial letters now and then (Plate CXIII. 2). He is also "irregular" in using rustic capitals for *incipits* as well as *explicits*.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t̓ t̋ (rare), and *tur* in ligature or with suprascript *u*. Also m̓ (*mihi*) q̨ (*quam*) q̊ (*quo*) q̧ as well as qđ (*quod*). Not many on a page, but Adalbaldus knows a wide range and uses any that he likes. He is a free spirit.

Corrections in a gloss hand with cursive traits. Some notes and guide-titles in Tironian.

Illumination. Red headings and initials. The two gatherings in the Paris manuscript formed the end of the book before Libri dismembered it. Thereafter there must have been a leaf on which the signature of Adalbaldus appeared. This was seen by Bréquigny and the compiler of the second catalogue of the manuscripts of St. Martin's made in the 18th century.

One of the less elegant books of Adalbaldus.

Fol. 14^{v} (Paris): pertinet ad ecclesiam beatissimi martini turonensis monasterii (*saec.* XV).

Plate CXIII. 1 (Paris, fol. 6^{r}), 2 (Tours, fol. 144^{r}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 13 f., 18; *Fonds Libri*, p. 24 (Pl. VII, 2); *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 52 (208). On Adalbaldus in general, *ibid.*, p. 80 (236); Berger, pp. 244 ff.

92. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 844 (St. Gatian 152). St. Isidore, *Etymologiae*.

167 leaves. 363 × 290. 1 col., 300 × 220. 39 (36, 37, 40, 41) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S. sometimes on outer, sometimes on inner leaf.

Script. Regular. At times elegant, at times careless. At least six hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{xps}}$ t̑ t̂ t̋. Also ÷ (*est*) t̓ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials. Mathematical and other diagrams.

Plate CXIV. 1 (fol. 69^{r}, somewhat reduced), 2 (fol. 103^{v}, somewhat enlarged).

93. TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale 29. *Old Testament.*

214 leaves. 384 × 290. 2 cols., 308 × 104. 46 lines.

Ruling. 20 quires 2 N. S., with many correspondences; 6 quires (Q. XVII–XXI, XXVI) 2 O. S.

Script. Regular. At least five hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. ṫ. Also m̄s̄ (*meus*) m̀ (*mihi*) q̊ (*quo*) ṫ (*tus*).

Contents of quires show significant connection with No. 50 (B. N. lat. 68). Perhaps both manuscripts were copied from the same original.

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles. Red initials; somewhat more elaborate initials in red and black, and one in red and green (fol. 4ᵛ — the green added later ?).

A book written in the full flush of the best art of Tours and yet itself no *édition de luxe.*

Plate CXV. 1 (fol. 23ʳ: Hand B), 2 (fol. 135ʳ, somewhat enlarged).

94. WOLFENBUETTEL, Landesbibliothek 4400 (Gud. lat. 96). Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium.*

157 leaves 280 × 250. 2 cols., 176 × 72. 30 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S., generally on the outer leaf.

Script. Regular. At times smallish. A few cursive traits rarely. No semiuncials. Apparently by one hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. t̊. Also dr̄ (*dicitur*) ÷ (*est*) m̄s̄ (*meus*) q̨ (*quam*) s̄t̄ (*sunt*) ů (*uero*) ṫ (*tus*).

Punctuation. The dot, low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Red titles and simple red initials.

Plate CXVI. 1 (fol. 64ʳ), 2 (fol. 19ᵛ).

O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel,* IV Abt. (G. Milchsack), 1913, p. 136, with an excellent plate (in colors) of fol. 1ʳ.

Uncertain Members of Group V

95. BASLE, Universitätsbibliothek A. N. I. 3. *Bible* (part).

This book I know only from a hasty inspection in 1912 and from a recent study of Köhler's photographs. The script seems closely

allied to the manner of Tours but not quite the genuine product; so Berger (pp. 224, 376). But a more extended examination of the script and Köhler's treatment of the illumination may tell quite a different story.

96. BASLE, Universitätsbibliothek B. II. 11. *Gospels.*

363 pages. 290 × 215. 1 col., 208 × 130.

Ruling. (?)

Script. Regular. Apparently three hands. Semiuncial occasionally mixed with minuscules.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs IHS IHC (rare) xps t (t very rare). Also sic (*sicut*).

Illumination. Elaborate. Gold, silver, colors, purple bands. Initials. Canon tables.

Berger, p. 376.

97. BERLIN, Preussische-Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 82. *Bible.*

I know this manuscript only from a study of Traube's photographs in 1912 and those of Köhler in 1927.

98. THE HAGUE, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum Q. 5. *Martinellus.*

I know this manuscript only from Köhler's photographs. From St. Arnulphus in Metz. It seems rather Turonizing than Tours.

99. PARIS, B. N., N. A. lat. 405. Orosius, *Historiae adversum Paganos* (fragment).

One leaf with a series of concentric circles containing the monograms of Adalbaldus (A L D B) and in the centre the inscription, in red and black rustic capitals: HIC LIBER ADALBALDI ARTIFICIS. Outside the monogram, a note in a later script (with t) containing an admixture of Tironian notes.

Apparently from the later period in the career of Adalbaldus, with the thought of himself rather as *artifex* than as *peccator.*

Delisle, *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, IV^e série, XIV (1886), 376-381, with a plate. Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, p. 121.

100. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1572 (St. Martin 55, Desnoyers). St. Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram.*

213 leaves. 290 × 235. 2 cols., 205 × 70.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S., sometimes on the outer, sometimes on the inner leaf.

Script. Improved Cursive. Some semiuncial, not quite true to type.

Abbreviations. Extended. $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ and $\overset{2}{t}$. Also $\overline{\text{au}}$ (*autem*) $\overset{i}{\text{p}}$ (*pri*) q< (*quia*) s$^{\text{d}}$ (*sed*) $\mathring{\text{u}}$ (*uero*) urgend̄ (*urgendum*) $\dot{t}$ and $\dot{t}^{7}$ (*tus*) cu̇i (*cuius*) e̊i (*eius*) hu̇i (*huius*), the symbol being placed not over the *i* but over the vowel preceding.

Illumination. Titles filled in with green and yellow, initials in green and yellow, blue and yellow or a mixture of simple colors. Both colors and designs are not in the manner of Tours.

Fol. 87$^{\text{r}}$: hic est liber sancti maximini miciacensis.

Though this book figures in Delisle's original list, he includes it only doubtfully. It was probably written not at Tours, but at Micy.

Plate CXVII. 1 (fol. 1$^{\text{r}}$).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 14, 18; *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 51 (157); *Catalogue Desnoyers*, pp. 1 f.

101. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 2322 (St. Martin 85. Desnoyers). Paulus Diaconus, *Collection of Sermons.*

215 leaves. 405 × 278. 2 cols., 283–296 × 88. 37, 39, 40, 41, 42 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on inner leaf. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 39.

Script. Regular and Improved Cursive. Several hands, none very competent, some occasionally, some frequently, permitting cursive traits. No semiuncial. Tironian notes.

Abbreviations. Few but extended. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$. Also ap̣ (*apud*) $\overline{\text{sic}}$ (*sicut*) $\overline{\text{st}}$ (*sunt*) $\overline{\text{rt}}$ (*runt*) $\dot{t}$ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Simple initials (red and black) with primitive designs of Tours.

Contents identified by Dom Wilmart. The collection is not that of Alcuin, as stated by Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 37 (193).

Date. Delisle (*loc. cit.*) inclines to accept Montfaucon's dating of the book in the time of Charles the Bald, speaking also of the "milieu du IX$^{\text{e}}$ siècle."

Plate CXVII. 2 (fol. 57r).

Delisle, *op. cit.*, pp. 37 (193) and 142 (298); *Catalogue Desnoyers*, p. 10. Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, p. 124.

102. ST. PETERSBURG (LENINGRAD), Gosudárstvennaya Publíčnaya Biblióteka Q. v. I, no. 21. *Gospels.*

I know this book (elaborately illuminated) only from Köhler's photographs and Staerk's plate. Placed by Köhler in the same group with No. 47 (Bamberg A. I. 5), No. 96 (Basle B. II. 11), No. 103 (Stuttgart II 40) and No. 104 (Vienna 468).

A. Staerk, *Les Manuscrits Latins du V^e au XIII^e Siècle Conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale de Saint Petersbourg*, II (1910), Pl. LXII (called "*saec.* X").

[Since the above was written, I have received through the generous gift of Professor W. A. Oldfather two admirable photographs and twenty-five rotographs, illustrating various features of the script and the illumination of this beautiful book. In its script, it seems to me not at all in the category of the Bamberg Bible (No. 47) which represents, to me, a distinctly earlier stage. I should associate the Gospels of Leningrad rather with the Bamberg Boethius (No. 71).

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs̄ xp̄s t̂ (in the one instance of this symbol found in the above-mentioned photographs and rotographs)].

103. STUTTGART, Hofbibliothek II 40 (Weingarten). *Bible.*

I know this simply yet beautifully illuminated book only from the photographs of Traube and Köhler. Script and art suggest No. 79 (Gospels of St. Gozlin). Could this be another of the productions of Adalbaldus? Associated by Köhler with No. 47 (Bamberg, A I 5), No. 96 (Basle, B II 11), No. 102 (St. Petersburg, Q. v. I., no. 21), No. 104 (Vienna, 468). K. Löffler, *Romanische Zierbuchstaben und ihre Vorläufer*, Stuttgart, 1926, Lieferung VI, p. 40 (description); Tafel 9 (initials on foll. 2, 96, 149).

104. VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek 468 (Hist. Eccl. 94). *Martinellus.*

83 leaves. 250 × 180. 1 col., 170 × 113. 24 lines. Beautiful script, not very elaborate illumination.

I have not examined this book recently or adequately.

Period VI. *The Mid-Century*

105. AUTUN, Bibliothèque Municipale 19 bis. *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.*

Written for Raganaldus, abbot of Marmoutier, c. 844.

200 leaves. 338 × 245. 1 col., 230 × 143. 27 lines.

Ruling. (?) Apparently two leaves at a time.

Script. Perfected. Mainly, if not entirely, the work of one hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t̓ t̋ t̋ m̋. Evidently t̓ was kept up at Marmoutier after it had been abandoned at St. Martin's. Also *omnis* (onis oni one oibus) sic̄ (*sicut*).

Illumination. Beautiful and elaborate: gold, silver, colors, purple bands. Titles in red and other colors. Initials, borders, pictures.

Plates CXVIII (fol. 2^{r}); CXIX (fol. 93^{v}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 13, 18; *Gazette Archéologique*, IX (1884), 153–163; plates for foll. 1^{v}, 8^{r}, 9^{r}, 173^{v}. *Ada-handschrift* (Janitschek), p. 83. Bosseboeuf, pp. 95–103. Boinet, Pl. XL (foll. 1^{v}, 5^{r}); XLI (foll. 8^{r}, 8^{v}); XLII (foll. 94^{r}, 95^{r}); XLIII (foll. 95^{v}, 173^{v}). Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, Pl. V (fol. 1^{v}); VI (fol. 5^{r}).

106. AUTUN, Bibliothèque Municipale 40. Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae.*

138 leaves. 355 × 275. 1 col., 273 × 173. 37 lines.

Ruling. Apparently 2 N. S. (?)

Script. Regular. Semiuncials not frequent. Minuscule, at least three hands, writing continuously. Glosses, some contemporary, including Tironian notes.

Abbreviations. Regular. t̋ and t̓. Also onēs (*omnes*) onimodo (*omnimodo*) intrinsec̓ (*intrinsecus*).

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles (fol. 89^{v}, red uncials filled or surrounded with black dots). Large initials of simple pattern.
Plate CXX (fol. 2^{v}).

107. BERLIN, PREUSSISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK THEOL. LAT. F. 733. *Gospels of Prüm.*

234 leaves. 295 × 242. 1 col., 190 × 140. 21 lines.
Ruling (?)
Script. Perfected.
Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.
Illumination. Beautiful and elaborate. Gold, silver, colors. Some titles in blue. Purple bands. Initials. Canon tables. Pictures.
Presented by the Emperor Lothaire to the Abbey of Prüm, thence to St. Maximin at Trèves, to the Bibliotheca Goerresiana at Munich, to the Imperial Library at Berlin.
Delisle, *Journal des Savants*, 1902, 461 ff. Boinet, Pl. XXXVI (foll. 22^{v}, 17^{v}); XXXVII (foll. 23^{r}, 23^{v}).
Through the kindness of Professor Wilhelm Neuss of Bonn, I was permitted to examine this manuscript at the Tausendjahrausstellung in Cologne in the summer of 1925.

108. BERLIN, PREUSSISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK 115 (Philipp. 1877). *Martinellus.*

139 leaves (+ one cut out after fol. 56). 240 × 221. 1 col., 163 × 132. 17 lines.
Ruling. 2 N. S.
Script. Perfected. One hand.
Abbreviations. Regular. Few $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.
Illumination. Simple designs, exquisitely illuminated. Gold, silver, colors, in careful harmonies. Gold and red often alternate in titles. Initials, borders, capitula tables. Perhaps the most beautiful *Martinellus* in existence (at least among the books of Tours). See No. 120.
Owned in the eleventh century by Bishop Deodericus of Metz and presented by him to St. Vincent's. Later it passed to the Collegium Claremontanum in Paris, thence to Meermann, to Sir Thomas Phillips, to Berlin.

Plate CXXI. 1 (fol. 36[r]), 2 (fol. 27[r]).

See V. Rose, *Verzeichniss der lateinischen Handschriften der königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, I (Berlin, 1893), 237–241.

109. DIJON, Archives Générales du Département de la Côte-d'Or. Fragment of the *Gospel of St. Matthew*.

Two leaves, once forming part of the binding of a book. 335 × 250. 2 cols., 231 × 56-70. 30 lines.

Script. Perfected.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHM}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Initial. Colors, gold in initial and lettering.

This fragment bespeaks the loss of one of the great products of Tours (presumably of St. Martin's), a rival of the Gospels of Lothaire. Nothing is known of its history.

A description by Delisle is preserved with the fragment. See also *École Calligraphique*, p. 12.

Plates CXXII (fol. 1[r]); CXXIII (fol. 1[v]).

110. FLORENCE, Museo Nazionale. *The Bargello Fan*.

A fan preserved in the Bargello, elaborately ornamented on its beautiful ivory handle with six scenes from Virgil's *Eclogues*, has been assigned by Goldschmidt (with a question-mark) to Tours (845-875). The inscriptions on the fan, in square capitals, rustic capitals and uncials, might well be Tours, of the mid-century. The connection of one of the Virgilian scenes with one in the *Codex Romanus* of Virgil suggests the possibility that the fan may have been made at St. Denis, where, at least later in the Middle Ages, the Codex was kept. Perhaps I should assign the fan to Period VIII, or not to Tours at all. I consider it at this point because the lettering seems characteristic of the present period.

Plate CXXIV.

A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen und sächischen Kaiser* (in *Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst*), vol. I (1914), pp. 74 f., Tafeln LXVI-LXVIII.

111. GRENOBLE, Bibliothèque de la Ville. *Gospels* (fragment).
Five leaves, containing parts of St. Matthew and St. Luke.
320 × 250. 1 col., 210 × 133. 22 lines.
Script. Perfected.
Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHS}}$.
A match in the beauty of its script for the Gospel-fragment of Dijon.
Plate CXXV.

112. LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale 63. *Gospels*.
229 leaves. 290 × 238. 1 col., 210 × 140. 21 (22) lines.
Ruling. (?)
Script. Perfected. Semiuncial occasionally Embellished.
Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ ($\dot{\text{t}}$ rare).
Illumination. Beautiful and elaborate. Gold and silver, harmonious colors. Purple script-spaces. Initials, borders, canon tables.
One of the typically splendid books of Tours.
New Palaeographical Society ii, Plates 14 (fol. 26^{v}); 15 (fol. 30^{r}). Boinet, Pl. XXXIX (foll. 87^{r}, 177^{r}).

113. LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit lat. 1685. Fragment of *Vita Sancti Germani*.
One leaf used as part of binding of a small book, the back of which was surrounded by the middle of the leaf.
257 × 189. 1 col., 170 × 161. 17 lines.
Script. Entirely in good semiuncial. Notable use of this script in the body of a text.
Contents. *Recto*: itaque oceanum mare Christo duce et auctore conscendunt . . . Ventor ⟨um⟩ furorem uela non sustinent et oceani.
Verso: moles fragilis cumba vix tolerat . . . hortatur universos oratio uno ore et clamore profunditur.
Abbreviations. Regular. $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.
Plate CXXVI. 1 (fol. 1^{r}), 2 (fol. 1^{v}).
Catalogus Bibliothecae Universitatis Leidensis, III (1912), 181. W. Levison, *Neues Archiv*, XXIX (1904), 106: "Ein einzelnes Blatt vom Anfang (hardly) des neunten Jahrhunderts."

114. LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit, Voss. lat. F 113. I. Aethicus, *De Cosmographia; Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*; St. Augustine, *Sermo adversus quinque hereses* and *De Vita Christiana*. II. Anonymus, *de Situ orbis*.

91 leaves. 271 × 229. Part I. 1 col., 190 × 130. 38 lines. Part II. 1 col., 205 × 155. 36 lines.

Ruling (?)

Script. Perfected. Several hands in Part I. Semiuncial at times of the Ornate variety. Regular.

Abbreviations. I. Regular. ihm t̃ t̂ Also q< II. t̂. Also b·.·

Illumination. Simple red titles and initials.

Part II. The treatise *de situ orbis* was written by a certain *G* (see Plate CXXVII. 2) and dedicated to Charles the Bald. Manitius in his edition (Stuttgart, 1884) dates the work about 870. Following E. Dümmler (*Neues Archiv*, IV (1879), 176 ff.) and K. A. F. Pertz (*De Cosmographia Ethici Libri Tres*, Berlin, 1853, p. 117) he assigns the manuscript to the twelfth century. It could hardly have been written so late as 870.

Plate CXXVII. 1 (fol. 22ᵛ), 2 (fol. 71ʳ).

115. LONDON, Library of A. Chester Beatty 8. *Gospels*.

205 leaves + 4 cut out and lost + 1 recently refound. 300 × 225. 1 col., 211 × 234. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile.

Script. Perfected. Three hands. A, the chief hand and perhaps identical with that of No. 121 (B. N. lat. 9385) and B, perhaps identical with that of No. 119 (B. N. lat. 266) write the Gospels. C, less distinguished, employs the usual small script for the *Capitulare Evangeliorum De Circulo Anni* and the *Capitula Evangeliorum Necessariorum*.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few, except in emergencies. IHS IHC ihs (very rare) xps t̂ n̄ (with the waving up-stroke in Hand A; see p. 61). Also (Hand B) sic̄ (*sicut*) ṫ (*tus*). The symbol for *pro* does not occur.

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes at the middle of the letter, sometimes low for half pauses, high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Elaborate and elegant. Red, gold and silver titles, sometimes in purple bands. Ornamental initials with much gold. Some silver and delicate harmonies, the other colors (lilac, buff, red, black and white — no blues or greens) playing a minor part. Borders, elaborate canon tables. Simple and traditional designs exquisitely treated. Suggests the art of B. N. lat. 263 (No. 118).

One of the splendid books of Tours — a member of the inner circle. Formerly in the library of H. Yates Thompson, Esq., the description in whose catalogue is repeated in that of Mr. Beatty's, pp. 42 f. Mr. Thompson secured it in Berlin in 1909, it being one "of the manuscripts of M. L. D." One of the five missing leaves (that after fol. 14) was happily recovered in 1926. See *Catalogue*, p. 43.

Plates CXXVIII (fol. 25^{r}: Hand A); CXXIX (fol. 169^{v}: Hand B).

Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts in the Library of Henry Yates Thompson, London, 1912. Plates I (fol. 10^{r}); II (fol. 60^{v}); III (fol. 63^{r}); IV (fol. 92^{r}); V (fol. 95^{v}); VI (fol. 96^{r}); VII (fol. 125^{r}: Hand A); VIII (fol. 150^{r}).

The Library of A. Chester Beatty. A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts by E. G. Millar, Oxford, 1927. Plates XVI (fol. 4^{v}); XVII (foll. 62^{v}–63); XVIII (fol. 92^{r}); XIX (foll. 95^{v}–96). On this catalogue and on the manuscripts in Mr. Beatty's collection, see E. A. Lowe, in *The Journal of Theological Studies*, XXIX (1927), 29–33.

116. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 1. *The Vivian Bible* (*First Bible of Charles the Bald*).

423 leaves. 500 × 380. 2 cols., 374 × 124. 51 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some correspondences within a quire and with some random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 40.

Script. Perfected. At least six hands, all smooth and clear, and most of them exceedingly beautiful — though not exceeding the beauty of Hand A of the Grandval Bible. The work is all of a piece.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\grave{\text{t}}$ (a few cases of $\acute{\text{t}}$ were taken from the original).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes at the middle of letters, sometimes low for half-pauses, high for full pauses.

Illumination. Indescribably splendid. Black and red titles, some blue ink, initials, purple script-spaces, borders, medallions, pictures. Gold, silver, colors in exquisite harmonies, though not so good in the pictures as in the initials. Certain leaves, as often occurs, were illuminated separately, but the decoration is of a piece with the script. There is no ground for the former view that the book was begun under Alcuin. See No. 80, the Rorigo Bible.

This most splendid of the great Bibles of Tours was done at the command of Abbot Vivian (845-851) and presented to King Charles by him in company with Amandus, Sigvaldus and Aregarius, officers of the monastery. If Sigvaldus gave place to Grimaldus as Dean in 845, then the Bible was done early in that year. The *magister scholae*, perhaps the writer of the dedicatory verses, was either Amalricus (see No. 29, the Bible of Monza) or Milo (see *The Vatican Livy*, pp. 24, 27, 30).

Perhaps presented by Charles the Bald to the Cathedral of Metz. It came from there to the Library of Colbert in 1675 and thence to the Bibliothèque Royale.

Plates CXXX. 1 (fol. 28^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 110^{v}: Hand B, capitulary script), 3 (fol. 96^{r}: Hand B); CXXXI. 1 (fol. 285^{r}: Hand C), 2 (fol. 324^{r}: Hand C).

For bibliography, see Berger, p. 399. Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 7 f., 15 f. Bosseboeuf, pp. 70 ff., 99 ff. No good reproductions of the script since De Bastard. Initials in H. Omont, *Peintures et Initiales de la Première Bible de Charles le Chauve* [1911]. Boinet, Pl. XLVII (foll. 3^{v}, 10^{v}); XLVIII (foll. 27^{v}, 329^{v}); XLIX (fol. 215^{v}); L (foll. 386^{v}, 416^{r}); LI (fol. 423^{r}); LII (foll. 9^{v}, 383^{v}); LIII (fol. 327^{r}); LIV (fol. 328^{r}); LV (fol. 328^{v}).

117. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 47. *The Faure Bible* (incomplete).

176 leaves. 490 × 370. 2 cols., 380 × 112. 49 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 41.

Script. Perfected. By one hand. The semiuncial shows signs of degeneracy.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps xpc $\overset{\text{us}}{\text{t}}$. The form of the 2 has the waving up-stroke. See above, p. 61. Also rare instances of q< and t (*tus*).

Illumination. Simple. Red and black titles. Initials of simple design, sometimes not well adjusted to the space planned (Plate CXXXII. 2). Some gold, silver, colors.

In spite of the simple ornamentation, the script of this book seems later than that of No. 116.

Plate CXXXII. 1 (fol. 46r), 2 (fol. 89r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 10. Berger, p. 401.

118. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 263 (Colbertinus). *Gospels* (incomplete).

129 leaves. 290 × 220. 1 col., 200 × 132. 20 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with much random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 46.

Script. Perfected. In a class with B. N. lat. 266 and 9385 (Nos. 119 and 121). Far better than B. N. lat. 261 (No. 132). One hand. Fanciful *g* in the semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs IHC xps xpc $\overset{\text{us}}{\text{t}}$ with the waving upstroke. See above, p. 61.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red and black titles, some instances of blue ink. Purple bands. Initials, borders. Gold silver and colors in good harmonies. Simple designs exquisitely carried out. The art suggests that of Nos. 119 and 121, and more clearly still, in its tasteful economy, that of *London, Beatty* 8 (No. 115).

Plate CXXXIII. 1 (fol. 25r), 2 (fol. 122r: with later indications of the tones; *c* for narrative, *s* for speeches of others, *t* for those of our Lord).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 11. Berger, p. 402.

119. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 266. *Gospels of Lothaire.*

221 leaves. 325 × 255. 2 cols., 230 × 57. 27 lines. Side-columns are drawn, as is usual, for initials, sections and canon-references.

The slip of text is as sumptuously narrow as in some of the ancient books, e. g., the Vatican palimpsest of Cicero's *De Republica.*

Ruling. No deliberate principle, unnecessary with the perfectly polished parchment. Sometimes O. S., sometimes N. S., with occasional neglect of Rule I. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 43.

Script. Perfected. The *ne plus ultra* of excellence. Minuscule by one hand. Many pages in gold script.

Abbreviations. Regular. Very few. $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ (with a very few cases of $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$, probably taken from the original).

Punctuation. The dot placed at middle of letters, and also, sometimes, low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Beautiful in both its elaborateness and its simplicity. Red and black titles, purple bands, initials, borders, medallions, canon tables, pictures. Gold, silver, colors in perfect harmonies.

Written by order of Sigislaus, hardly the copyist (see *The Vatican Livy*, p. 31) and presented to the Emperor Lothaire. Therefore done between 843 and 855, and probably nearer the latter date than the former.

The unsurpassed model of perfection in script and ornament among the books of Tours.

Plates CXXXIV (fol. 3^{v}); CXXXV (fol. 172^{r}); CXXXVI (fol. 7^{r}); CXXXVII (fol. 24^{v}).

For bibliography, v. Berger, p. 403. Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, III, pp. 253 f., Pl. XXV, 5; XXVI, 5; *École Calligraphique*, pp. 10 f., 16 f. *Album Paléographique*, Pl. 22 (a page of semiuncials and one of minuscules). Boinet, Pl. XXX (fol. 1^{v}); XXXI (fol. 2^{v}); XXXII (foll. 171^{v}, 75^{v}); XXXIII (fol. 12^{r}); XXXIV (foll. 16^{v}, 19^{v}); XXXV (foll. 73^{v}, 110^{r}).

120. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 5582. *Martinellus.*

140 leaves. 245 × 203. 1 col., 160 × 125. Only 16 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., even and elegant, the leaves taken at random from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 42.

Script. Perfected. Not more than two hands (possibly only one) in the minuscule. Cursive traits in the capitulary script.

Abbreviations. Regular. Very few. $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ (often with the last stroke running high and capped at the end).

Illumination. Elaborate and elegant. Red, black and occasionally blue-black titles. Initials, arches for capitula and some titles. Gold, silver and colors in exquisite harmonies.

An *édition de luxe*, contesting the palm with Berlin 115 (No. 108).

Plate CXXXVIII. 1 (fol. 35^{r}), 2 (fol. 114^{v}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 14, 18 f.

121. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9385. *The Du Fay Gospels.*

179 (not 180) leaves. 314 × 245. 2 cols., 210 × 72. 26 lines.

Ruling. Parchment delicate, carefully prepared and ruled. Rule I not always followed (e. g., not in Q. XII and XXII). Some O. S. and some N. S., and sometimes the method seems impossible to ascertain. Exceptional ruling for an exceptional book. See No. 119 (B. N. lat. 266). *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 44.

Script. Perfected. One hand, perhaps identical with Hand A in No. 115 (Beatty 8).

Abbreviations. Regular. More abundant than in No. 119. $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes placed at the middle of the letter, sometimes low for half-pauses, high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Most elaborate. Red, black, blue-black, gold and silver titles. Purple bands. Initials. Borders, frames, canon tables, pictures. Gold, silver, colors, in harmonies at times less exquisite than those in No. 119.

Almost a rival for No. 119, in a somewhat later stage, say about 860. Janitschek puts it in the "Spätzeit" (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 84). In the same general group with B. N. 261 and 267 (Nos. 132 and 133), though these are, I feel, still later books.

Plates CXXXIX (fol. 5^{r}); CXL (fol. 16^{r}); CXLI (fol. 134^{r}).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 12. Berger (with reference to De Bastard), p. 406. Boinet, Pl. LVI (foll. 18^{v}, 179^{v}).

122. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 442 (Libri 94) *Psalter* (in Tironian Notes).

97 leaves + original fly-leaf at beginning and one at end. 178 × 132. 2 cols., 117 × 37. 19 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., the leaves selected at random from a pile.

Script. Text in Tironian notes of exceeding beauty.

Punctuation. The dot with curving strokes above it after half-verses, and ·,· after whole verses.

Illumination. Titles in excellent red rustic capitals. One ornamental page (fol. 1^{r}) with initial Tironian *B* and rest of the text (*Beatus vir qui non abiit in concilio impiorum*) in gold and red.

Fol. 97^{v} (half effaced): Sancti Petri de Perusio (Libri).

Plate CXLII. 1 (fol. 1^{r}), 2 (fol. 88^{v}).

Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pp. lxxxiv f. He identifies this manuscript with one formerly owned by Bouhier, from whom it passed to the library of the Medical School of Montpellier (H 449).

Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, p. 223, mentions this book with seven Carolingian Psalters in Tironian but does not ascribe it to Tours. Facsimile (not photographic), Pl. 10 (foll. 39^{r}, 39^{v}).

123. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 106 (St. Martin 158). Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matheum.*

160 leaves. 273 × 222. 1 col., 200 × 166. 43 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile.

Script. "Tiny" or "Capitulary" Tours. Several hands. Occasional open *a*, but otherwise cursive traits rare.

Abbreviations. Regular. Many. ihs IHC xps t. Also ms (*meus*) s' (*sed*) sic (*sicut*) habuert t' (*tus*).

Illumination. Some red titles and simple red initials.

Written after 842, the probable date of the completion of the work.

Fol. 1^{r}: note on the burning of St. Martin's in 903 (hand of the tenth century).

Fol. 1^{r}: hic liber est sancti martini turonensis (*saec.* XII).

Plate CXLIII. 1 (fol. 149^{v}, somewhat reduced), 2 (fol. 1^{r}).

Uncertain Members of Group VI

124. BERLIN, Preussische Staatsbibliothek Hamilton 248. *Gospels.*

I know this manuscript only from a study of Traube's photographs in 1912 and those of Köhler in 1927.

125. BERLIN, Bibliothek des Kunstgewerbemuseums.
Two leaves of a large Bible of Tours. I saw Traube's photographs of these in 1912.

126. TREVES, Stadtbibliothek Inc. 921. *Bible* (fragment).
In Köhler's list.

127. VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek 2133. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae, saec. XII.*
Two leaves of a Bible (parts of *Hosea* and *Daniel*) bound between the cover and the body of the book, were discovered by Köhler to be of the School of Tours.

128. WOLFENBUETTEL, Landesbibliothek 2186 (Aug. fol. 16). *Gospels.*
I know this beautiful and sumptuous volume only from the photographs of Traube and Köhler and Plate XXXVIII in Boinet (foll. 5^r, 79^r).

Period VII. *The Post–Mid-century Style*

129. CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale 98 (77). Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentarium in Matheum.*
166 leaves + 2 ancient fly-leaves. 275 × 240. 1 col., 232 × 184. 42 lines.
Ruling. The quires are about equally, and alternately, divided between 2 O. S. and 2 N. S.
Script. Degenerating. At least five hands.
Abbreviations. Extended. Many. ihs $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ (rare) $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overset{1}{\text{p}}$ (*pri*) q$\overset{1}{\text{q}}$a (*quia*) $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).
Illumination. A very few simple initials. Few red titles.

130. CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale 111 (59). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Danielem.*
93 leaves. 230 × 210. 1 col., 157 × 125. 22 lines.
Ruling. 2 O. S.
Script. Rather elegant, but with touches of lateness. A later hand (*saec.* X/XI) fills the leaves at the end (foll. 91–93) with a treatise

on the Seven Wonders of the World DE SEPTEM MIRACULIS MUNDI AB HOMINIBUS FACTIS.

Abbreviations. Regular. m̊ t̊. Also dr̄ (*dicitur*) ṫ (*tus*).

Illumination. Merely red titles and initials.

131. LONDON, B. M. ADDITIONAL 11849. *Gospels.*

183 leaves. 223 × 175. 1 col., 150 × 136. 25 (24) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile.

Script. Perfected, yet a bit decadent. Rather small. One hand, which may be identical with that of No. 133 (B. N. 267), No. 153 (Beatty 11), and No. 143A (B. N. 13388).

Abbreviations. Regular. Rather numerous. IHS IHC XPS QM but not QNM (*quoniam*) p̈ṫ (the symbol with the waving stroke; cf. Plate CXLIV. 2 line 24: see above, p. 61). Also qꝯ (*quia*) iurab̄ (*iurabis*) oꝝ (*orum*, cf. Plate CXLIV. 1; see above, p. 65) mund̄ (*mundus*) ṫ (*tus*). The hand may be a somewhat later stage of that in No. 133 (B. N. 267). See also No. 143 A.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red titles, gold lettering on purple bands. Initials, borders, canon tables in gold and colors with excellent harmonies. The art seems akin to that in No. 133.

Plate CXLIV. 1 (fol. 5ᵛ), 2 (fol. 29ʳ).

Berger, p. 390. *Speculum*, IV (1929), 214; Plate III (fol. 1ʳ).

132. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 261 (Colbertinus). *Gospels of Le Mans.*

153 (not 149) leaves. 280 × 192. 1 col., 208 × 130. 30 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with much random selection from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 45.

Script. Perfected, but beginning to degenerate. Four hands: A, of much beauty, yet with cursive traits reappearing; B and D, less elegant, blocky, with occasional cursive traits, especially in D; C, the hand perhaps of a tiro, allowed for only a page (fol. 39ʳ). Semiuncials, still nearly true to type.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄s IHC XPS t̊. Also qꝯ (*quia*).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes at middle of letter, sometimes low for half-pauses, high for full pauses.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red, black and gold titles; purple bands. Profuse display of gold. Initials, borders, pic-

tures. Delicate designs and harmonies. The art suggests that of No. 121 (B. N. 9385) and 133 (B. N. 267) and according to Janitschek (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 83), shows in its art something of the influence of Corbie.

To the library of Colbert from Le Mans.

Plate CXLV. 1 (fol. 76r), 2 (fol. 23r: Hand B), 3 (fol. 39r: Hand C).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, p. 11. Berger, p. 402.

133. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 267 (Colbertinus). *Gospels.*

184 leaves. 302 × 255. 2 cols., 207 × 62. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some selection at random from a pile. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 47.

Script. Perfected, a bit on the decline. The hand may be that of No. 131 (B. M. Add. 11849) and No. 153 (Beatty 11). See also No. 143 A (B. N. 13388).

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs̄ ihc̄ x̄ps̄ x̄pc̄ t̄, the latter symbol with the waving stroke (Plate CXLVI. 2, col. 2, line 15). See above, p. 61. Also ō9 (*orum*); (see above, *ibid.*) t̀ (*tus*).

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red and black titles. Initials, canon tables. Gold, silver and colors in good harmonies.

A later member of the distinguished group Nos. 118 (B. N. 263), 121 (B. N. 9385) and 132 (B. N. 261). Also directly connected in art and script with No. 131 (B. M. Add. 11849) and in script with No. 143 A (B. N. 13388) and No. 153 (Beatty 11).

Plate CXLVI. 1 (fol. 95r), 2 (fol. 12r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 11 f.

134. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA REG. LAT. 586. Part C (foll. 126–140). *Martinellus.*

The volume contains fragments of various manuscripts. Part C alone is surely of the school of Tours.

15 leaves. 232 × 170. 1 col., 152 × 110. 24, 25 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., apparently with random selection from a pile.

Script. Decadent Perfected, with some cursive traits. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. x̄ps̄ t̄. Also ꝙ (*quia*).

Illumination. Red titles and simple red initials.

Plate CXLVII. 1 (fol. 134v).

135. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 184 + PARIS, B. N. lat. 9430 (St. Gatian 61?). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.* (No. II).

These manuscripts contain dissevered gatherings of three different sacramentaries, with various later additions to each of them. See Nos. 165, 166 and 186. No. II is the earliest of the three.

213 (134 Tours + 79 Paris) leaves. 260 × 230 (Paris); 265 × 216 (Tours). 1 col., 190 × 128. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 50.

Script. Perfected, a bit decadent. Cursive traits rare. Semiuncials systematically employed, especially at the beginning.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overline{\text{xpc}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overline{\text{ms}}$ (*meus*) $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).

Neums of Tours (Dom Beyssac).

Illumination. Red titles, elaborate initials and borders, with gold and colors.

Plates CXLVII. 2 (Tours, fol. 3^r); CXLVIII. 1 (Tours, fol. 6^v), 2 (Tours, fol. 64^r).

Delisle, *École Calligraphique*, pp. 13, 17 f.; *Mémoire sur d'Anciens Sacramentaires*, pp. 130–142; *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 26 (182). Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, p. 123. Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, I, 43–53.

136. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 309 (St. Martin 142). St. Gregory, *Homeliae in Evangelia.*

136 leaves. 312 × 240. 2 cols., 231 × 66. 23 (24)lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. Perfected, a bit on the decline. Some cursive traits. No semiuncials. Not more than two hands and possibly only one.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overline{\text{xpc}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overline{\text{q}}$< (*quia*).

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Red initials.

Plate CXLIX. 1 (fol. 35^r, somewhat reduced).

Uncertain Members of Group VII

137. COLOGNE, Dombibliothek 1. *Bible.*

500 × 355. 2 cols., 51 lines.

Ruling (?)

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overset{2}{t}$.

Illumination. Red titles. Gold, silver, colors. Purple script-spaces. Initials. Canon tables.

Presented to the Cathedral Library of Cologne by Bishop Herimanus or Hermannus (890–925), but written considerably before that time.

Berger, p. 379.

I am indebted to Professor Wilhelm Neuss for the privilege of examining this book (my examination was hasty) at the Cologne Tausendjahrausstellung in 1925.

138. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. lat. 647. Ermentarius, *Vita et Miracula S. Filiberti.*

96 leaves. 181 × 130. 1 col., 140 × 89. 14 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. The inner column-lines go only from the second line to the next before the last. Such a practice is unexampled in the books of Tours.

Signatures. Decorated letters, colored green and yellow, in the centre of the lower margin. Nothing like this in the genuine books of Tours at this time.

Script. Round and clear, showing the influence of Tours, with occasional semiuncial forms especially m.

Abbreviations. Regular. Rare. $\overline{\text{ihu}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$. Also $\overline{\text{no}}$ (*non*) $\overline{\text{quo}}$ (*quoniam*) $\overset{3}{t}$ (*tus*).

Text. The manuscript contains the later of the two works of Ermentarius, written c. 863.

Illumination. Black and black and red titles, the letters often filled in with blue, green and yellow. So with the initials. Throughout the book a blue-green coloring prevails, not in the usual manner of Tours.

The script is worthy of the elegance of Tours, but the book was probably written at some other monastery not long after the composition of the works.

Plate CXLIX. 2 (fol. 10^{r}), 3 (fol. 89^{v}).

The Manuscripts of Tours

Period VIII. *Tours and the Franco-Saxon Style*

139. LONDON, B. M. Additional 37768. *Psalter of Lothaire.*

172 leaves. 235 × 190. 1 col., 141 × 99. 21 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., even when the leaves are thick.

Script. Gold ink, therefore harder to estimate. Might be Tours of the mid-century.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overline{\text{IHM}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.

Punctuation. The dot, placed low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Illumination. Sumptuous and exquisite. Gold lettering. Borders. Initials sometimes clearly Franco-Saxon (e. g., B, fol. 9^r, L, fol. 34^r), sometimes nearer to the tradition of Tours. On fol. 169^r (Plate CL. 2) the initialist wrote ATER, not realizing that the A would be included, Franco-Saxon fashion, in the P. Later the A of the title was erased. Pictures, including one of Lothaire.

Dedicatory verses to Lothaire. Hence done before 855 and probably not much before. Exceedingly important and early monument of the Franco-Saxon style and of the influence of Tours upon it, or — shall we say? — of its influence on Tours. Later additions at the beginning and the end of the manuscript are in hands very possibly of Tours (*saec.* IX/X).

Plate CL. 1 (fol. 66^v: compare the *T* in Berne 165, Plate LXXVI), 2 (fol. 169^r).

Boinet, Pl. LXXIX (foll. 4^r, 5^r); LXXX (foll. 6^r, 9^r).

140. LONDON, B. M. Egerton 609. *Gospels of Marmoutier.*

103 (not 102) leaves. 306 × 225. 1 col., 225 × 136.

Ruling. 4 O. S.

Signatures. Denoted by *reclamantes*, at the right of lower margin.

Script. Continental, both majuscules and minuscules showing Insular traits. By one scribe, apparently an Irishman, who has mastered something of the manner of Tours. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular, but with a large infusion of Irish symbols. ħ (*autem*) ++ (*enim*) ÷ (*est*) 7 (*et*) $\overset{i}{\text{m}}$ (*mihi*) ꝙ (*quod*) ꝙ< (*quia*) $\overline{\text{st}}$ (*sunt*) $\overset{i}{\text{t}}$ (*tibi*). Besides $\overline{\text{ihs}}$, a curious monogram of *ihesus* (Plate CLI. 1, line 4) $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{m}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$.

Punctuation. The dot, and sometimes for whole pauses ·;· Abundant accents.

Illumination. Insular, with modifications. Initials, borders, canon tables, symbolic images of evangelists. Colors simple and rather crude.

Fol. 1^{r}: Majoris monasterii Congregationis S. Mauri (*saec.* XVIII?).

Fol. 102^{v}: iste liber est de ecclesia beatissimi martini turonensis (*saec.* XV).

Either a present from some other monastery (first to St. Martin's and then to Marmoutier) or the work of an Irishman experimenting at Tours. If the latter, not done before the mid-century. It is tempting to accept the dating given by Wordsworth and White (*saec.* VIII *uel* IX) and to regard this book as a later member of Group II, "The Irish at Tours." The nature of the text comports with such a view, but not that of the script.

Plate CLI. 1 (fol. 15^{v}), 2 (fol. 79^{r}).

Berger, p. 388. Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum*, pp. xi, 707.

141. LONDON, B. M. EGERTON 768. *Gospels* (*St. Luke* and *St. John*)

113 (not 112) + 2 ancient parchment fly-leaves. 277 × 187. 1 col., 209 × 96. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile. The New Style is not characteristic of Franco-Saxon books. See above, p. 12.

Script. Perfected Tours, rather than Franco-Saxon under the influence of Tours. No semiuncials. By one scribe.

Abbreviations. Regular. Reduced to a minimum. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Silver and gold titles with frame. Franco-Saxon initials and borders. Harmonious colors.

The ruling and the script, not too far from the mid-century, would seem to place this book in Tours. If so, the illumination shows that Franco-Saxon art could be cultivated there.

Plate CLII. 1 (fol. 2^{r}), 2 (fol. 60^{r}).

G. F. Warner, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*, Plate 6 (fol. 63^{r}). Boinet, Pl. CVII (foll. 2^{r}, 63^{r}).

142. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 324 (Colbertinus). *Gospels.*

93 leaves. 165 × 117. 1 col., 135 × 83. 40 lines. A tiny, "bedside" copy.

Ruling. 2 N. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 48.

Script. Perfected. Small Capitulary script, or "tiny Tours." Careful work. Cursive traits negligible. Only traces of semiuncial. One hand.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overline{\text{xpc}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also ++ (*enim*, rare) s^{3} (*sed*) $\dot{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).

Punctuation. The dot, placed at the middle of letters for half-pause, and high for a whole pause.

Illumination. Elaborate. Purple bands, gold lettering, initials, borders, canon tables, pictures. Gold, silver, colors in admirable harmonies. The influence of some other school (Reims ?) seems probable.

Berger (p. 254) believes the book a copy of a manuscript of Tours, its own text being a mixture, with Franco-Saxon elements. Köhler believes both script and ornamentation to be alien to Tours. I feel it safer, palaeographically, to call the book a copy made at Tours from a Franco-Saxon original rather than a copy of a manuscript of Tours made at a Franco-Saxon centre.

Plate CLIII. 1 (fol. 1^{v}), 2 (fol. 6^{v}), 3 (fol. 34^{r}), 4 (fol. 11^{r}).

Berger, p. 404. Boinet, Pl. CXXXIX (foll. 10^{r}, 13^{r}, 47^{v}, 33^{v}).

143. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9386 (Meaux). *Gospels.*

189 leaves. 266 × 228. 1 col., 190 × 137. 23 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S., in the "outside-inside" fashion. See above, p. 16 and *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 49.

Script. Tours in decadence with an Irish flavoring. Minuscules and semiuncials merge.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$

Illumination. Red and black titles. Initials (sometimes surrounded by red dots) with some designs of Tours and some of Irish or Franco-Saxon character. Canon tables and curious pictures.

Apparently the work of an Irishman aspiring to the manner of Tours, though probably the book was not written at Tours. At least he has mastered the abbreviations.

Plate CLIV. 1 (fol. 100[r]); 2 (fol. 18[v]).

143 A. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 13388 (St. Germain des Prés). *Confessio S. Fulgentii*, etc.

108 leaves. 216 × 166. 1 col., 155 × 115. 18 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. Perfected, perhaps a bit on the decline. Possibly two hands of like excellence, or perhaps only one, with varying traits. In any case the scribe of No. 131 (B. M. Add. 11849), 133 (B. N. 267) and 153 (Beatty 11, Hand A) here reappears.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihu IHU xps t (at times with the waving stroke). Also ms (*meus*) m (*mihi*) q< (*quia*) o (*orum*, occasionally) mund (*mundus*) t (*tus*). See above, p. 61.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red, black and gold titles. Initials and borders in gold and colors. The gold at times has faded, showing the green back-ground as in No. 153 (Beatty 11). The designs generally conform to the manner of Tours in general and to the group mentioned on No. 133 (B. N. 267) in particular; but one initial B (fol. 82[v]) shows clearly the influence of the Franco-Saxon style.

My attention was called to this book by C. M. S. Niver. See *Speculum*, IV (1929), 213–215. Plates I (fol. 72[v]); II (fol. 6[r]); IV (fol. 82[r]).

144. ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA LAT. 43. *Gospels.*

211 lines. 235 × 165. 1 col., 165 × 92. 22 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., on the outer leaf.

Script. Regular. Of the small, Capitulary variety. Uncials and semiuncials fairly true to type. Square capitals with angular *C* and *G*.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few but varied. ihs xps t (once t, probably taken from the original). Also ms (*meus*) no (*non*) pp (*propter*) q< (*quia*) sic (*sicut*) turb (*turbis*) etc. t (*tus*) Suprascript *i*, e. g., *simle*, *mrabilia*, *famlias*. Suprascript *o*, e. g., *nem*.

Illumination. Red, green (frequent) or red and black titles. Simple initials in red or green. More elaborate initials with Franco-Saxon designs and those of early Tours. Various colors, with rather pleasing harmonies.

"Offenbar aus Tours," Traube.

Plates CLV . 1 (fol. 30^{v}), 2 (fol. 79^{v}); CLVI. 1 (fol. 119^{r}).

Possible Cases for Consideration in Group VIII

145. PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 1171. *Gospels.*

223 (not 214) leaves. 269 × 218. 1 col., 178 × 130. 20 (21, 26) lines.

Ruling. Elegant and careful. Generally 2 N. S., with certain exceptions, explained by the excellence of the parchment which did not necessitate rules. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 58. Franco-Saxon *éditions de luxe*, are apparently ruled O. S. not N. S. See above p. 12. The ruling of the present book suggests rather that of No. 119 (B. N. 266) or No. 121 (B. N. 9385).

Script. Possibly Franco-Saxon, showing the influence of Tours ("Martinian"), or genuine Tours, experimenting with the Franco-Saxon innovations. Some of the opening sections are in a most stately minuscule that despite semiuncial elements is not semiuncial. The minuscule employed for the body of the text, possibly in more than one hand, seems genuine Tours rather than "Martinian."

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overline{\text{XPC}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overline{\text{st}}$ (*sunt*) $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).

Punctuation. The dot placed low for half-pauses and high for whole pauses.

Text. In the Franco-Saxon group according to Berger, p. 258.

Illumination. Elaborate and beautiful. Red titles. Verses explaining the pictures are in gold rustic capitals on purple bands. Canon tables, with traditional designs of Tours. Pictures. Exquisite harmony of colors.

Fol. 214: ERLUINUS PECCATOR.

Ascribed to Tours by Delisle (whom Köhler and Dom Wilmart cannot accept), *Journal des Savants*, 1902, p. 473.

Berger, p. 411. *Liebaert Collection*, 841–849 (Lindsay, 203–211); canon tables and foll. 17^{v}, 18^{r}, 72^{v}, 108^{r}, 108^{v}. Boinet, Pl. CXXXVII (foll. 17^{v}, 108^{r}); CXXVIII (foll. 11^{r}, 73^{r}).

146. ROME, Treasury of San Paolo fuori le Mura. *Bible.*

333 leaves. 446 × 362. 2 cols., 339 × 116. 59 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile.

Script. "Martinian" rather than Tours (?). Several hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. ihs xps t. Also au (*autem*) rt (*runt*) t (*tus*).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes at the middle, sometimes low for half-pauses and high for full pauses.

Text. A medley, including Alcuinian elements. Some of the Alcuinian poems. Berger, p. 295.

Illumination. Most sumptuous. Red and black titles, red and gold, covering the page; red and gold on purple bands. Gorgeous initials, sometimes covering the page and provided with colored backgrounds (indigo, purple, ivory white). Designs of Tours and other schools, with curious innovations. Some of the letters are as nervously alive as the human figures in the art of Reims. Superb and elaborate harmonies of colors. Also a set of exquisitely simple initials of red and gold (e. g., for the headings of the *Minor Prophets*, ff. 151^{v} ff.). Canon-tables, elaborate and ingenious. Impressive pictures, with livelier scenes than in any of the books of Tours since the Ashburnham Pentateuch. In general, this art is rather the flowering-out (too lavish at times) of that of Tours than of the Franco-Saxon style. The artist, Ingobertus, has evidently used one of the illuminated Bibles of Tours as one of his sources. Whether he worked at Tours is a matter for experts to decide. Ruling and punctuation perhaps favor such an hypothesis, and the script is not against it, if there was a Franco-Saxon period at Tours. The wealth of scenes in the pictures suggests that some old book had come to light or possibly that the original whence only a few pictures had been taken for the Moûtiers-Grandval and Vivian Bibles (Nos. 77 and 116) was now thoroughly ransacked. But perhaps the inventions

should be accredited to Ingobertus himself, who has shown inventiveness enough in the initials and the canon tables. If so, he is the greatest artist in the Carolingian age.

Plate CLVI. 2 (fol. 50^{v}), 3 (fol. 186^{v}), both greatly reduced.

Ada-handschrift (Corssen), p. 38, "sicher nicht in Tours [geschrieben]." Berger, p. 412. Venturi, *Storia dell' arte Italiana*, II (1902), pp. 322–332 and Figures (233–237, 238–242) for various pictures and initials; Venturi thinks that the book was presented by Charlemagne to the church at Ostia before his coronation in 800 (!). Boinet, Pl. CXXI (fol. 1^{r}); CXXII (foll. 2^{v}, 7^{v}); CXXIII (foll. 30^{v}, 39^{v}); CXXIV (fol. 58^{v}, 167^{v}); CXXV (foll. 185^{v}, 256^{v}); CXXVI (foll. 254^{r}, 255^{r}); CXXVII (foll. 267^{r}, 284^{v}); CXXVIII (foll. 292^{v}, 307^{v}); CXXIX (fol. 9^{r}); CXXX (foll. 21^{v}, 50^{v}). Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 272 ff. (with reduced reproductions of foll. 274^{r}, 255^{r}, 268^{v}); *Genesis*, pp. xxix-xxxi.

147. ROME, Biblioteca Vallicellana B 6. *Bible.*

346 (not 343) leaves. 355 × 335. 3 cols., 258 × 62. 50 (49) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. A small variety in several hands, like the tiny Capitulary script or that of the Bibles of Theodulf (B. N. 9380, the MS. of Le Puy and B. M. Add. 24142); see Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 250 ff. This sort of script may account for the use of three columns in all these works. No semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\overline{\text{xps}}}$ $\overset{z}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overline{\text{rt}}$ (*runt*). Practically no Irish infusions.

Text. A mixture, though the Alcuinian source used was good. Alcuinian poems (Berger, pp. 200 ff.).

Illumination. Simple. Red, and red and black titles, with the first lines of books also in red. A few elaborate initials with some Franco-Saxon designs and some of Tours. So with the canon tables, in which the Franco-Saxon designs appear in their simplest forms. Simple colors. Janitschek (*Ada-handschrift*, p. 75) likens the ornamentation to that of the Zürich Bible (No. 63).

Possibly done at Fleury? "Sicher nicht in Tours [geschrieben]." (Corssen, *Ada-handschrift*, p. 38).

Berger, p. 413. Dom Quentin, *Mémoire*, pp. 269 ff. (with reduced reproductions of foll. 285[r], 266[v]).

148. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Ott. lat. 313. *Martyrologium Bedae* and *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*.

218 (not 217) leaves. 278 × 198. 1 col., 216 × 120. 26 (25, 27, 33) lines.

Ruling. Four quires 2 O. S., eleven 2 O. S. in the "outside-inside" fashion (see above, p. 16) and nine with two double leaves in one and two in the other way.

Script. Improved Cursive. No semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHU}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also glae (*gloriae*).

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Initials generally simple, a few more elaborate with suggestions of the Franco-Saxon style.

A list of *Nomina Canonicorum Parisiacens(ium)* (fol. 110[v]) and one of *Nomina Defunctorum* (fol. 111[r]) contain evidence that the manuscript was at Paris between 831 and 855.

Bannister, *Mon. Vat. Pal. Mus. Lat.*, *Addenda* II (after p. 281), pp. 1* f., with facsimile (neums). "The Gregorian Sacramentary," ed. H. A. Wilson, in *Henry Bradshaw Society*, XLIX (1915), contains a facsimile of fol. 128[v] in frontispiece, and my note on the palaeography of the book, p. xxxvii. While not excluding the possibility that the manuscript was written at Tours not long before 855 (with a touch of Franco-Saxon influence), I think it more probable that it was done at a northern Centre, perhaps St. Denis.

Plate CLVI. 4 (fol. 9[r]).

149. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 23 (St. Martin 174). *Gospels*.

193 leaves. 288 × 231. 1 col., 177 × 123. 21 lines.

Ruling. Parchment carefully prepared and Rules I and II frequently broken. Generally 2 O. S. on the flesh-side, though often on the hair-side. Often 4 O. S. on the inner side, whether flesh or hair.

Script. Rather Martinian than genuine Tours. No open *a*'s. Ligatures of *ct*, *rt* and *st* occasionally, but not regularly, occur. One hand. Excellent uncials, no semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t.

Punctuation. The dot, low for half-pauses, high for full pauses.

Illumination. Red titles. Titles in gold, square capitals filling the page. Introductory pages of gold uncials. Marginal initials of gold, minor initials often filled in with green and yellow. Larger initials with Franco-Saxon designs and canon tables with the stern formality of the Franco-Saxon style. Gold, silver and simply harmonized colors.

Probably a present to St. Martin's.

Plates CLVII. 1 (fol. 12r), 2 (fol. 9v); CLVIII (fol. 127r). All somewhat enlarged.

Period IX. *The End of the Century*

150. CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale 828 (733). *Martinellus*, prefaced by Gregory of Tours, *Passio Sancti Juliani.*

132 leaves. 250 × 180. 1 col., 164 × 113. 21 (22) lines.

Ruling. Q. I–II, XVII: 2. N. S. The rest: 2 O. S.

Contents. Part A (Q. I–II) contains Gregory of Tours on the passion of St. Julian. Part B (Q. III–XVI) contains a Martinellus, starting off as a lectionary (fol. 13r: INCIPIUNT LECTIONES IN FESTIVITATE BEATI MARTINI LEGENDE). Not all the Martinellus is included. Part C (Q. XVII) contains additions to Part B. The supplements (Parts A and C) are in the same hand and are ruled 2 N. S. It is later than the hand of Part B, but may not be much later. The contents of Part A suggest that at least the supplementing may have been done in the monastery of St. Julian at Tours.

Script. Revived Cursive. Mixed majuscules. Only faint traces of semiuncial.

Abbreviations. Extended. ihm xps m t Also gram (*gratiam*) miscda ppło (*populo*) ppłm ṫ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red headings, initials, colors.

Attributed to Tours by Molinier. *Catalogue des Départements*, XVII, p. 313.
Plate CLIX. 1 (fol. 1r).

THE HAGUE, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Q. 3. See No. 158 (B. N. lat. 9733).

151. LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit, lat. Q. 20. Part I (foll. 1–8). *Chronica* and Dares, *Historia de Excidio Troiae*.
Script. Revived Cursive.
Abbreviations. Extended. $\overset{2}{t}$.
See No. 76.

152. LONDON, B. M. Arundel 125. *Job* and *Ezra*.
98 leaves. 250 × 169. 1 col., 185 × 102. 22 lines.
Ruling. 2 O. S.
Script. Revived Cursive. Ornate semiuncials. Mainly by one hand, relieved by a second with "block" effect.
Abbreviations. Regular. Few. *Tur* generally not abbreviated; $\overset{2}{t}$ once in an erasure, once perhaps by another hand. Also $\overset{2}{t}$ (*tus*).
Punctuation. The dot placed sometimes at the middle of the letter, and sometimes low for half-pauses, high for whole pauses.
Illumination. Crude. The fading out of the tradition. Red and black headings. Initials in simple colors.
Possibly Turonizing rather than Tours (?).
Plate CLIX. 2 (fol. 52r).
Berger, p. 389.

153. LONDON, Library of A. Chester Beatty 11. Ansegisus, *Capitula*.
105 leaves. 290 × 225. 1 col., 185 × 145. 24 lines.
Ruling. 2 N. S. (except Q. XI, 2 O. S.) with random selection from a pile.
Script. Decadent Perfected and Revived Cursive. Two main hands, A continuing the Perfected Style with a certain decadence, being the hand of No. 131 (B. M. Add. 11849), No. 133 (B. N. 267), and No. 143A (B. N. 13388) in a later stage, and B, a

clear "block" hand of the end of the century, somewhat suggesting a seedy sort of Franco-Saxon. Four assisting and supplementing hands, one of them (C) neat and clear.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs $\overline{\text{IHU}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$ ($\overset{v}{\text{t}}$, with the graceful swing, in Hand A). A also has $\overline{\text{noe}}$ (*nomine*) $\overline{\text{oꝝ}}$ (*orum*) (as in Nos. 131, 133 and 143A). Hand B has also $\overline{\text{dicns}}$ (*dicens*) $\overline{\text{dict}}$ (*dicit*) ꝙ (*qui*) aliqis (*aliquis*) $\dot{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).

Illumination. Elegant. Red headings. Ornamental initials with new developments of the regular designs of Tours and some suggestions of the Franco-Saxon style. Abundant use of gold, put on over green. In some initials the gold has worn off leaving the green. The other colors used are red and white.

The latest of the Capitula (*Capitulum Carisiacense* of January 4, 873) establishes a *terminus post quem* for the book. The part done by A includes only Capitula of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious, but the rest of the book is no later addition but an integral part of the whole. Hand B is corrected on several pages by a clear, round hand, perhaps not the same as A, but resembling it in its smoothness. The rubricated titles in rustic capitals are of the same character throughout the book, and so are the ornamental initials.

The book therefore furnishes valuable proof that despite the decadence of Hand B the tradition of the mid-century was still rather creditably maintained in Hand A and the correcting hand C and that a very decent illumination was still practised.

Plates CLX (fol. 8^{v}: Hand A); CLXI (fol. 98^{r}: Hand B).

The Library of A. Chester Beatty, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts, by E. G. Millar, Oxford, 1927. Plates XXVIII (foll. 28^{v}–29^{r}: Hand A); XXIX (fol. 42^{r}: Hand A); XXX (fol. 83^{r}: Hand B).

154. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 7502 (Colbertinus) Part III. Lucan, *De Bello Civili*, I–X, 107. See Nos. 52, 68.

54 leaves (Q. XXI–XXVII, foll. 155–206 + remnants of 3 more leaves). 352 × 275. 2 coll., 285 × 105. 37 lines.

A different manuscript from Part II.

Ruling. 4 O. S.

Script. Revived Cursive. Three or more hands, with an increasingly late appearance.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overset{2}{t}$ $\overset{3}{t}$. Also $\bar{\imath}$ (in).

Illumination. Initials in the style of the Embellished Cursive books (with encircled beasts).

Possibly a late copy of an Embellished Cursive book of Alcuin's time or not long thereafter.

Plate CLXII. 1 (fol. 155^{v}), 2 (fol. 175^{v}).

M. Annaei Lucani De Bello Civili, ed. C. Hosius (Leipzig, 1905), p. xliv.

155. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9603 (St. Martin 122). Haymo of Auxerre, *Collection of Sermons*.

100 leaves. 260 × 198. 1 col., with varying script spaces (224 × 162: 210 × 185: 192 × 132: 166 × 138). 38 (30, 36, 37) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with Q. III 2 O. S. in the "outside-inside" manner. See *Palae. Lat.* V., No. 51 and above, p. 16.

Script. Revived Cursive; including a fairly large and elegant hand near the manner of the mid-century (A), a coarser hand with a later aspect (B), and a very tiny Capitulary or Gloss Script (C).

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{t}$. Also $\overset{3}{t}$ (*tus*).

The collection of homilies is not that made by Alcuin and the manuscript was not written shortly after his time, as Delisle (*Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 39 [195]) and Chatelain (*Notes Tironiennes*, p. 214, 1) believed, but, as Dom Wilmart discovered, the compiler was Haymo of Auxerre and his work was done after 850.

Plate CLXIII. 1 (fol. 1^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 48^{r}: Hand B), 3 (fol. 12^{r}: Hand C).

Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, Pl. IV (fol. 14^{r}).

156. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9604. Paulus Diaconus, *Collection of Sermons*.

143 leaves. 318 × 264. 2 cols., 241 × 80. 30 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. (two leaves in Q. 1 apparently N. S. but see above, p. 16).

Script. Revived Cursive. An obviously late, though large and elegant hand (A), another (B) of earlier aspect, resembling Hand A in No. 155 (B. N. lat. 9603).

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs (corrected to IHS by another hand) t. Also ÷ (*est*) q< (*quia*).

Illumination. Red and black titles, plain red and black initials.

On the contents, see No. 101 (B. N., N. A. lat. 2322).

Plate CLXIV. 1 (fol. 8v: Hand A), 2 (fol. 20r: Hand B).

Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 38 (194).

157. PARIS. B. N. LAT. 9729 (St. Martin 90). *Vitae Patrum.*

159 leaves. 315 × 215. 1 col., 211 × 143. 31 lines.

Ruling. Generally 2 N. S., but six quires O. S. and three partly N. S. and partly O. S. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 53.

Script. Revived Cursive, with an occasional sprinkling of semiuncials in the minuscule. About a dozen hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. t. Also au (autem) fres (*fratres*) gla (*gloria*) gram (*gratiam*) q (*qui*) q< (*quia*) t (*tus*).

Illumination. Red titles. Some crude initials showing the ancient designs.

Fol. 2r iste liber est de armario beati martini turonensis (*saec.* XII).

Plate CLXV. 1 (fol. 3r).

158. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9733 (St. Martin 154, part). Gregory of Tours.

A. *Liber Miraculorum in Gloria Martyrum.* [B. *Liber propriae in gloria sancti martyris Iuliani.*] C. *Capitula de virtutibus Sancti Martini.*

A and part of C are found in this manuscript. B and part of C are at the Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum, Q. 3. Six leaves of C are in Tours 1521.

57 leaves. 270 × 195. 1 col., 190 × 148. 27 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on the inner leaf. See *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 54.

Script. Revived Cursive, wild.

Abbreviations. Numerous but regular. ihs xps t. Also sprm (*spiritum*, fol. 9r).

Illumination. Red and black titles.

The complete book, or what had been left of it by the rats, was seen in Tours by Bréquigny. See Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 94 (250). W. Levison, "Handschriften des Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum im Haag," *Neues Archiv*, XXXVIII (1913), 518–521.

Plate CLXV. 2 (fol. 44[r]).

159. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 454 (St. Martin 33, Libri 21). Cicero, *De Senectute* and *Somnium Scipionis cum Macrobi commentis*.

81 leaves. 240 × 200. 1 col., 172 × 131. 27, 28 (29 lines).

Ruling. 4 O. S. on inner leaf.

Script. Revived Cursive. "Block" effect.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\dot{t}$. Also dt̄ (*dicit*) dr̄ (*dicitur*) ÷ (*est*) s̄t̄ (*sunt*) ṫ (*tus*).

Plate CLXVI. 1 (fol. 18[v]), 2 (fol. 81[v]).

Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 58. He corrects the mistake of Bréquigny, who supposed this a book of Adalbaldus; see his *Papiers* (in the Bibliothèque Nationale), XXXV, fol. 63[v].

160. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1490 (Cluny). MS. II (foll. 88–167). Iohannes Scottus, *Expositio super Hierarchias S. Dionysii Areopagitae*. [MS. I (foll. 1–87). Hegesippus, *Historiae*. See No. 87.]

80 leaves. 297 × 225. 1 col., 212 × 135. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. in the "outside-inside" manner. See above, p. 16 and *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 55.

Script. Revived Cursive.

Abbreviations. Regular. ih̄m x̄p̄s̄ $\dot{t}$. Also dr̄ (*dicitur*) ÷ (*est*) gl̈a (*gloria*) gr̄a̅ (*gratia*) ṫ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red titles. Simple red, and red and black initials.

Plate CLXVI. 3 (fol. 131[r]).

Dom A. Wilmart, "Le Couvent et le Bibliothèque de Cluny vers le Milieu du XI[e] Siècle, *Revue Mabillon*, XI (1921), 25.

161. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1589 (St. Gatian 65, Libri 36). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*.

122 leaves. 294 × 228. 1 col., 195 × 137. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 56.

Script. Decadent Perfected and Revived Cursive. Several hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t.

Illumination. Elaborate but decadent. Red and black titles. Initials, borders, purple script-spaces with lettering in red and gold. Gold, silver, and various colors, sometimes crudely, sometimes pleasingly combined. Fol. 9v: the words *auro* and *cinabari* (?) are traced in ink to indicate where the red and the gold were to be applied (Delisle, p. 13).

Fol. 10. Monogramme of the scribe (?) surrounded by the inscription, in Greek characters: LONGOBARDOS SACERDOS VIVAT IN XPO. Delisle, Plate V. 3.

Fol. 122. Liber abbatiae s. mariae de florentia (Libri).

An *édition de luxe* for the time in which it was written, suggesting the style of Sacramentary I in No. 165. Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 13, "à la fin du IXe et du Xe siècle"; the latter dating presumably refers to later additions.

Plates CLXVII (fol. 10v); CLXVIII. 1 (fol. 5r), 2 (fol. 102v).

Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, I, pp. 53–55.

162. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1603 (St. Gatian 143, Libri 91). Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita.*

230 leaves. 339 × 265. 1 col., 225 × 160–180. 29 lines.

Ruling. Parchment delicately prepared and ruling hard to ascertain. Certainly not O. S.; probably 2 N. S., unless some leaves were ruled separately.

Script. Revived Cursive. Three main hands. Excellent work. "L'un des plus admirables modèles de la minuscule française du IXe siècle" (Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. lxxxiv). The larger scripts are well managed, but semiuncial is neglected.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t t and t⁹ (a waving stroke crossing the horizontal shaft at the right, — the English symbol. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 373).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Simple initials with some gold.

Fol. 230. Liber abbatiae s. mariae de florentia (Libri).

Plate CLXIX. 1 (fol. 30^{r}), 2 (fol. 56^{v}), 3 (fol. 198^{r}).
Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, p. 45.

163. ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Pal. lat. 209. St. Augustine, *Libri Quaestionum in Matheum et Lucam* and other *Opuscula*; St. Jerome, *Letters* (a few).

126 (not 128) leaves. 252 × 218. 1 col., 172 × 137. 21 (19) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selections from a pile.

Script. Revived Cursive. Two hands. A, large and fair (fol. 1^{r}); B, clear but less distinguished (the rest of the book). Ornate semiuncials.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{IHS}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\overline{\text{quo}}$ (*quoniam*).

Punctuation. The dot, placed low for half-pauses, and high for full pauses.

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles.

Fol. 126^{v}: iste liber pertinet monsterio beate marie magdalene in franckentall inter spiram et wormaciam situato canonicorum regularium ordinis sancti Augustini episcopi (*saec.* XV). A similar press-mark on fol. 58^{r}.

On the neums in this manuscript, which if not of Tours may possibly be of Fleury, see my review of Bannister, *Mon. Vat. Pal. Mus. Lat.* in *American Journal of Philology*, XXXV (1914), 470.

Plate CLXX. 1 (fol. 1^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 13^{v}: Hand B).

164. ROME, Biblioteca Vaticana Reg. lat. 215. *Miscellany* (*Excerpta ex synodalibus gestis S. Silvestri Papae; Sinonima Ciceronis; Nomina graeca quae sunt fortia;* St. Jerome, *Brevis adnotatio in Genesim*; *Glossae Veteris ac Novi Testamenti; Scolica Graecarum Glossarum; Exempla Diversorum Auctorum;* St. Isidore, *Liber Chronicum;* etc.)

143 leaves. 198 × 160. 1 col., 132 × 80–109. 29 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. with random selections from a pile.

Script. Small, Capitulary script, often very tiny. Some cursive traits allowed. Possibly by one hand, more probably by several. Semiuncial with Ornate touches.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\text{ih}\bar{\text{u}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also $\text{d}\bar{\text{r}}$ (*dicitur*) $\text{g}\dot{\text{t}}\text{a}$ (*gloria*) $\dot{\text{t}}$ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red, and red and black titles. Simple red and black initials.

Date. 877 A.D. or after, on the evidence of a chronological note by the scribe of the manuscript on fol. 142v.

The *Exempla Diversorum Auctorum* constitute one of the most important anthologies of the ninth century. See Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1911), 472. L. Traube, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, *Poetae Lat. Aev. Car.*, III (1892), 273. He ascribed the manuscript at that time to Laon (p. 753).

Fol. 1: HIC LIBER EST $\overline{\text{SCE}}$ MAR.

A book of Tours according to Traube's later view, *Neues Archiv*, XXVII (1901), 269 (*Vorlesungen*, III, p. 234). Bannister, *Mon. Vat. Pal. Mus Lat.*, pp. xix, 29; Tav. 10 (foll. 130r, 131v, which contain neums, either of Tours or of Fleury).

Plate CLXXI. 1 (fol. 112r).

165. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, 184 + PARIS, B. N. LAT. 9430 (St. Gatian 61?). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, No. 1.

See Nos. 135 (*Sacramentary* II) and 166 (*Sacramentary* III).

278 (181 Tours + 97 Paris) leaves. 260 × 230 (Paris); 265 × 216 (Tours). 1 col., 190 × 150. 17, 18, 20 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 50.

Script. Decadent Perfected. A few cursive traits occasionally allowed. Semiuncials sporadic. Several hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{ihm}}$ $\overline{\text{IHM}}$ $\overset{2}{\text{t}}$. Also gl̃a (*gloria*).

Illumination. Red, red and black, red and light purple titles. Elaborate initials and borders with simple colors in rather ineffective combinations.

From the numerous additions (*saec.* IX–XII) to the three Sacramentaries, special attention should be called to what may be a fragment of still a fourth Sacramentary of the tenth century. See below, No. 186.

Plates CLXXI. 2 (Tours, fol. 166v), 3 (Paris, fol. 139r); CLXXII (Paris, fol. 19r).

166. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 184 + PARIS, B. N. lat. 9430 (St. Gatian 61?). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*, No. III.

See Nos. 135, 165 and 186.

76 (17 Tours + 59 Paris) leaves. 260 × 230 (Paris): 265 × 216 (Tours). 1 col., 190 × 127. 24 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. with random selection from a pile. *Palae. Lat.* V, No. 50.

Script. Somewhat decadent, yet clear and compact.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs ihc xps xpc t. Also gla (*gloria*) miscda (*misericordia*).

Illumination. Red titles and plain initials.

Plate CLXXIII (Paris, fol. 74r).

167. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 261 (Marmoutier 82). Part I (foll. 1-121). St. Hilary, *Expositio in Psalmos.*

121 leaves. 350 × 255. 2 cols., 245 × 85. 29 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile.

Script. Decadent Perfected, curves tending to break into angles. Lemmata and first lines in semiuncials. At least four hands.

Abbreviations. Extended. Many. ihs xpc t. Also au (*autem*) g (*ergo*) gla (*gloria*) glatur, etc. m (*mihi*) miscda (*misericordia*) q< (*quia*) q (*quo*) u (*uero*) t (*tus*).

Punctuation. The dot, sometimes at the middle, and sometimes low for half-pauses, high for full pauses.

Illumination. Red initials, sometimes mottled with black.

Plate CLXXIV. 1 (fol. 40r, slightly reduced).

Part II (foll. 122-161). St. Ambrose, *De Spiritu Sancto.*

40 leaves. 350 × 255. 2 cols., 230 × 80. 28 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile.

Script. Decadent Perfected, with touches of Irish influence. Two hands.

Abbreviations. Extended. Many. ihs xps t. Also angli (*angeli*) gla (*gloria*) gra (*gratia*) ido (*ideo*) m (*mihi*) m (*modo*) s› (*sed*) sic (*sicut*) t (*tibi*) t (*tus*) u (*uero*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Plate CLXXIV. 2 (fol. 134r).

168. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 265 (St. Martin 140). St. Ambrose, *Opuscula.*

159 leaves. 330 × 235. 2 cols., 263 × 78. 33 lines.

Ruling. Regularly 2 N. S., but 2 O. S. in three of the twenty quires.

Script. Decadent Perfected. A good, clear script in several hands. Ascribed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the 10th century.

Abbreviations. Regular, with not many outside the usual list. ihs xps t. Also angls (*angelus*) ÷ (*est*) ms (*meus*) t t (*tus*).

Illumination. Red and black titles. Red initials.

Plate CLXXIV. 3 (fol. 124r, reduced).

169. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 272 (St. Martin 44). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam* (part).

146 (not 145) leaves. 264 × 250. 1 col., 195 × 149. 27 lines.

Ruling. 4 (3) O. S., sometimes on the outer, sometimes on the inner leaf.

Script. Revived Cursive. At least eight scribes, of whom the names of three are written (probably by the director of the scriptorium) on the first page of certain gatherings. Q. v, fol. 29r: Isimbertus; Q. ix, fol. 53r: Amadeus; Q. xiii, fol. 83r: Odericus. These names (naturally) do not appear in the St. Gall list of monks of Tours. They wrote long after it was compiled.

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps xpc t (in various forms, some suggesting the Irish variety) t. Also dr (*dicitur*) ÷ (*est*) ms (*meus*) sic sic (*sicut*).

Illumination. Red titles. Crude initials with some red coloring.

Plate CLXXV. 1 (fol. 83r), 2 (fol. 18r).

170. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 279 (Marmoutier 77). St. Augustine and St. Jerome, *Opuscula.* Two different manuscripts.

Part I. (foll. 1–58) St. Jerome, *Expositio in Hieremiam.*

58 leaves. 280 × 218. 1 col., 224 × 143. 32 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. Revived Cursive. Two interplaying hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. Not many. ihs xps t and (less often) t. Also ÷ (est) nc (*nunc*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Part II (foll. 59–191). St. Jerome and St. Augustine, *Opuscula.*

133 leaves. 280 × 218. 1 col., 213 × 145. 34 lines.

Ruling. 2 (4) O. S.

Script. Revived Cursive, including early ligatures like *ro, rs.* Various hands.

Abbreviations. Regular. Not many. ihs xps t' (*tur* and rarely *tus*).

This is a deceptive book in both its parts. I was inclined at first to date it at the beginning of the 9th century and so Dom Wilmart (*Revue Bénédictine*, 1926, p. 155). In spite of t' (*tur*), we now agree on the present dating.

Plate CLXXV. 3 (fol. 30v), 4 (fol. 95r).

171. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 282 (St. Gatian 137). St. Augustine, *Letters.*

97 leaves. 365 × 265. 1 col., 256 × 173. 39 (40) lines.

Ruling. 4 (3, 2) O. S.

Script. Decadent Perfected.

Abbreviations. Regular. t̃.

Illumination. Red titles.

Plate CLXXVI. 1 (fol. 13v, slightly reduced).

172. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 334 + PARIS, B. N., N. A., lat. 1612, 1613, 1614 (St. Martin 42, Libri 87, 88, 30). Bede, *De Naturis Rerum*; St. Jerome, *De Sollempnitatibus Paschae*; Boethius, *Arithmetica*; *Aratea* (in prose), etc.

Dissevered parts of one work. A. Paris, 1612 (Quires a, b, c). B. Tours 334 (Quires d–k). C. Paris, 1613 (Quires l–n, most of the leaves being cut away from the binding). D. Paris, 1614 (Quires o–v, [x], [y], i–iii [iv]).

193 leaves (49 Tours + 22 + 23 + 99 Paris). 330 × 232–240. 2 cols. (Parts A, B and part of C), 249–256 × 77. 1 col. (Part D and part of C), 231 × 152. 40 lines (A, B, C), 28 lines (D).

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Signatures. Letters, placed in the center or the right corner of the lower margin.

Script. Parts A, B, C. Revived Cursive. Different sorts of small or Capitulary script, some "tiny" and of the gloss variety. Numerous hands. Part D. Larger script, smooth and competent, two hands. The "K" form of H in a rustic capital heading (BOETKII).

Abbreviations. Regular. ihs xps t and t (Part B). Also dr (*dicitur*) ÷ (*est*) no (*non*) op; (*opus*) q< (*quia*) qq (*quoque*) qt (*quot*) sic (*sicut*) u (*uero*) utr (*utrum*) t (*tus*).

Glosses and some notes in Tironian.

Illumination. Red and black titles. Red initials. In Part D, table of *Sapientia* and its subdivisions (foll. 76r). Signs of the Zodiac (fol. 81v) and various pictures illustrating Aratus.

Paris, 1612, fol. 22r: Est S. Ioannis in Valle (Libri). 1613, fol. 21v: Est S. Ioannis in Valle (Libri). 1614, fol. 77r: mōsterii S. Zenonis maioris Veronae (Libri).

This *Bibliotheca Scientiarum*, suggesting the contents of Brit. Mus. Harley 3017 and the *Bibliotheca septem artium liberalium* of Theodoricus of Chartres (Chartres, 497–498, *saec.* XII), needs a special study, on the basis of that of Bréquigny; see his *Papiers* (in the Bibliothèque Nationale), Vols. XXXV, foll. 93 f. According to Bréquigny, B. N. lat. 16361 is a copy of the present manuscript.

Plates CLXXVI. 2 (Tours, fol. 5r, somewhat reduced), 3 (Paris, 1614, fol. 34r).

Delisle, *Fonds Libri*, pp. 62 ff.; *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 113 (269). Chatelain, *Notes Tironiennes*, pp. 121 ff., 161.

173. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE, 335 (St. Martin 93). Bede, *De Tabernaculo.*

96 leaves. 260 × 175. 1 col., 188 × 130. 29, 28 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S.

Script. Revived Cursive. One hand.

Abbreviations. Extended. ihs xps t (sometimes in the Irish way) t (sometimes corrected from t by another hand). Also dt (*dicit*) dr (*dicitur*) h (*haec* and *hoc*) misericđia qsi (*quasi*) qn (*quoniam*) qq (*quoque*) tm (*tantum*) tn (*tamen*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Date. Attributed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the 11th century. It seems to me rather a work of the end of the 9th century, showing the influence of the Irish.

Plate CLXXVII. 1 (fol. 30r, slightly reduced).

174. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 556 (Marmoutier 37). *Canones.*

67 leaves. 254 × 140. 1 col., 212 × 110. 30 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S., sometimes on the outer, sometimes on the inner leaf.

Script. Revived Cursive. No semiuncials. Mainly if not entirely by one hand.

Abbreviations. Extended. Many. $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ (*tur*) $\dot{h}$ (*autem*) ++ (*enim*) $\dot{q}$ (*que*) $\dot{q}$ (*quod*) m_{+} (*mus*) n_{+} (*nus*).

Illumination. Red titles. Simple red and black initials.

Plate CLXXVII. 2 (fol. 48r, reduced).

175. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 850 (St. Martin 272). *Liber Glossarum.*

495 leaves. 494 × 295. 2 cols., 416 × 102. 46, 47, 50 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S.

Script. Revived Cursive. About twenty hands, some with very ancient cursive traits (like *em*, *en*, *nt*, *sp*), suggesting the possibility that the book was copied from an original of the 8th century.

Abbreviations. Regular. $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ $\dot{t}$. Also ÷ (*est*) $\dot{t}$ (*tus*).

Some rubrication.

Plate CLXXVII. 3 (fol. 226r), 4 (fol. 271v), both somewhat reduced.

TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1521. See No. 158 (B. N. lat. 9733).

Uncertain Members of Group IX

176. BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 9591. Cicero, *De Senectute.*

See A. C. Clark, *Classical Review*, XXVIII (1924), 205. I was permitted to see photoscopic reproductions of this manuscript at the offices of Institut International de Coopération Intellectuelle de la Société de Nations in Paris.

The script looks more like the work of some monastery under the influence of Tours, though it may perhaps be Tours of the Revived Cursive variety.

177. CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale 386 (364). *Apocalypsis cum imaginibus depictis.*

48 leaves. 308 × 230. 1 col., 170 × 160. 19 (18) lines, surrounded by a border.

Ruling (?)

Script. Three hands, two (A and C) smooth, A with a round, closed *g*, prophetic of that of the School of Winchester (Plate CLXXVIII. 1), one (B) more rough and angular. Omission supplied in the latter on fol. 38^{v} (Plate CLXXVIII. 2) in an apparently contemporary hand with a late-looking *g*. Cursive traits in all the hands. Text at first on the *recto*, later on the *verso*, of the leaf.

Abbreviations. Regular. Few.

Illumination. Colors. Initials, Borders. Pictures (always on the *verso* of the leaf).

A companion-volume for No. 181 (Treves 31).

If Tours, at the end of the ninth century. If earlier, from some monastery under the influence of Tours.

Plate CLXXVIII. 1 (fol. 3^{r}: Hand A), 2 (fol. 38^{v}: Hand B).

Boinet, Pl. CLIII. B (fol. 27^{r}); CLIV. B (fol. 36^{r}); CLVI (foll. 6^{v}, 17^{r}). Numerous plates in H. Omont, "Manuscrits illustrés de l'Apocalypse aux IX^{e} et X^{e} siècles," Paris, 1924 (in *Bulletin de 1922, Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*).

178. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 256 (St. Martin 113). St. Cyprian, *Letters* and *Opuscula.*

308 leaves, 333 × 240. 1 col., 243–273 × 162–178. (Foll. 151–166, 2 cols., 263 × 71–80). 28–31, 34, 35 lines.

Ruling. 4 O. S. on inner leaf.

Script. Revived Cursive. Numerous hands. Some exceedingly wild and Merovingian in appearance, though some of the early traits are presented in a way that indicate that the scribe did not understand them. (See Plate CLXXIX. 1, line 12: *notantur.*)

Description of the Manuscripts

Abbreviations. Extended. ihs xps ṫ and ṯ. Also au (*autem*) ÷ (*est*) nis (*nostris*, fol. 79) qnđo (*quando*) q (*qui*) qd (*quid*) respondebt ṫ (*tus*).

Illumination. A few crudely ornamental initials. It would seem that this manuscript, like No. 175 (Tours 850) was copied from an original of the 8th century. (Cf. nis = *nostris*, besides the cursive traits.) The *Catalogue Collon*, perhaps rightly, assigns it to the 10th century. It may well not have been done at Tours.

Plate CLXXIX. 1 (fol. 152r, slightly reduced).

179. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 285 ("origine inconnue"). St. Augustine, *Opuscula*.

134 leaves. 237 × 170.

The manuscript falls into four parts.

I. Foll. 1–82. II. foll. 83–84. III. foll. 85–132. IV. foll. 133–134. II and IV are supplements of the eleventh century.

I. 2 cols., 188 × 58. 19 lines. 2 N. S. A clear, attractive hand with some cursive traces. Among the abbreviations ihs xps ÷ (*est*) q< (*quia*) st (*sunt*). Red and black titles.

Fol. 35v: EGO BERILANDUS LEVITA INDIGNUS FAVENTE DEO LIBRUM TRANSSCRIPSI ISTUM. PAX VOBISCUM.

III. 1 col., 181 × 109. 22 lines. 4 O. S. Two hands: A, wild and Merovingian; B, smooth and clear. Among the abbreviations ÷ (*est*) ihs xps ṫ (one ṯ, fol. 117v, changed to ṫ !). Red titles.

One might at first date Part III, especially Hand A, at the beginning of the 9th century, but it doubtless should be regarded as Revived Cursive. Since its origin is not certain, it possibly was not written at Tours.

Illumination (both parts). Red, and red and black titles.

Plates CLXXIX. 2 (fol. 36r); 3 (fol. 85v: Hand A, somewhat enlarged), 4 (fol. 127v: Hand B, reduced).

180. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 887 + PARIS, B. N., N. A. lat. 1622 (Marmoutier 122, Libri 25). Prudentius, *Poemata*, and Priscian, *Ad Pueros de Arte*.

Marmoutier 122, according to Chauveau (Delisle, *Manuscrits Disparus*, p. 123 [279]) contained: "Prudentii Hymnus de Sancto Romano, Apotheosis. Contra Symmachum libri duo, X^e siècle. Prisciani liber ad pueros de arte: ex XII primis versibus librorum Aeneidorum, XI^e siècle." Tours 887 contains the Prudentius, 10 quires, incomplete at the end. Paris, B. N., N. A. lat. 1622 contains the Priscian, in gatherings marked Q. XVI and XVII.

90 leaves (Tours 75 + Paris 15). 292 × 204 (Tours), 292 × 200 (Paris). 2 cols. (Tours, foll. 1-8), 221 × 70. 1 col. (Tours, foll. 9-75), 215 × 151; (Paris), 238 × 171. 27, 28 (Tours), 36, 39 (Paris) lines.

Ruling. Tours. 2 N. S. with some indifference to Rule II and some irregularities in the assembling of leaves. Paris, 2 O. S.

Script. In both Tours and Paris, a rather careless Revived Cursive.

Abbreviations. In Tours: Regular. ihm̄ x̄p̄s ṫ (sometimes changed to ẗ by the gloss hand) ẗ. In Paris: Regular. ẗ. Also sic̄ (*sicut*) ṫ (*tus*).

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

In Tours, foll. 31^{v}-32^{r}, surrounding the pages: HUNC LIBRUM HERIBALDUS A . . . . . ENSIS ECLESIAE ēp̄s DEDIT s̄c̄ō STEPHANO PRO VITA AETERNA. Heribaldus was Bishop of Auxerre, 829-857. At least the Prudentius, then, was written before 857, and if so, it hardly could have been a product of the scriptoria of Tours. It later came to Marmoutier and was combined with the Priscian, apparently part of a different book, which might have been written at Tours at the end of the 9th century.

Plates CLXXX. 1 (Paris, fol. 1^{r}), 2 (Tours, fol. 34^{r}).

181. TREVES, STADTBIBLIOTHEK 31. *Apocalypse.*

A companion-volume for No. 177 (Cambrai 386). I know this book only from Traube's and Köhler's photographs. Text in Revived Embellished semiuncial, which might be Tours, were it earlier. But the script, like that of No. 171, seems dubious ("Recht zweifelhaft," Traube).

Plate CLXXX. 3 (fol. 73^{v}, reduced).

Menzel, in *Ada-handschrift* (Janitschek), pp. 105 f. (perhaps a "provinzieller Schössling der Schule von Tours"). Boinet, Pl. CLIII. A (fol. 37^{v}); CLIV. A (fol. 64^{v}); CLV (foll. 51^{v}, 59^{v}).

I am indebted to Professor Köhler for several photographs of the text of the manuscript.

Period X. *The Tenth Century*

182. FLORENCE, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana LXIII 20 (Ashburnham 30, Libri 83). Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (The Third Decade).

120 leaves. 312 × 265. 2 cols., 228 × 95. 37 lines.

Ruling. 4 (2, 3) O. S., sometimes on the flesh-side.

Script. Rather *saec.* X than XI (Bandini).

Abbreviations. Regular. Few. $\overset{2}{t}$.

Illumination. Simple red, and black initials and titles.

Possibly a copy of No. 16. See *The Vatican Livy*, p. 39. Compare Plate CLXXXI with Plate 4 of *The Vatican Livy*.

Plate CLXXXI (fol. 38^{r}).

183. PARIS, B. N. lat. 11834. *Charter of St. Ursus of Tours.*

The volume contains a miscellaneous collection of charters. F. 2 is inscribed with a charter defining the boundaries of the Abbey of St. Ursus and certain privileges of its monks. It is signed by ΘΗΩΘΩΛΩ Guarno, Badilo Decanus and others. Theotolo (Theotilo) was archbishop of Tours in the first half of the tenth century and Badilo Decanus is also mentioned at that time (*Gallia Christiana*, XIV, pp. 47, 50; Bosseboeuf, p. 109).

Script. Revived Cursive (charter hand).

Plate CLXXXII. 1 (fol. 2^{r}).

184. PARIS, B. N., N. A. lat. 1577 (Marmoutier 66). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Oseam.*

110 leaves. 325 × 270. 1 col., 248 × 188. 29, 30, 31 lines.

Ruling. 2 and 4 O. S.

Script. Large and clear. Various hands.

Abbreviations. Extended. $\overset{2}{t}$.
Illumination. Initials with traditional designs.
Plate CLXXXII. 2 (fol. 57^{v}).

185. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 106. (St. Martin 158.) Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matheum*.

A note (fol. 1^{r}) on the burning of St. Martin's in 903. Apparently written not long after the event and therefore a reliable specimen of the script of St. Martin's in the tenth century. See No. 123, with Plate CXLIII. 2.

186. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9430, foll. 263–270 (St. Gatian 61?). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*.

One of the numerous additions to the three Sacramentaries described under Nos. 135, 165, and 166, may possibly be a part of still a fourth sacramentary, in a hand of the tenth century.

8 leaves. 260 × 230. 1 col., 195 × 153. 33 lines.
2 N. S.
Plate CLXXXIII. 1 (fol. 263^{r}).

187. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 274 (St. Gatian 124). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Ezechielem*.

175 leaves. 320 × 255. 2 cols., 244 × 88. 32 (30, 31) lines.
2 (4) O. S. Clear and elegant script with no cursive traits except the ligature of *st*. Several hands. Semiuncials, with Ornate details, still practised, and the varieties of majuscules generally kept true to type. The "down-up" method of punctuation is misunderstood by a correcting hand, who places a comma at the side of the high point for full pause instead of beneath it.
Plate CLXXXIII. 2 (fol. 30^{r} reduced).

188. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 283 (No. 8 "*ancien*"). St. Augustine, *Confessions*.

154 leaves. 237 × 313. 2 cols., 232 × 78. 27 (33, 34, 44) lines.
Ruling. 2 N. S. (q. 1., 2 O. S.).
Script. Large and stately, maintaining the tradition. Occasional cursive traits.

Illumination. Red titles and impressive initials in red and black with designs elaborated from those of early Tours.
An excellent book. Could it be of the eleventh century?
Plate CLXXXIII. 3 (fol. 26^{v}).

189. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 288 (Marmoutier 29). St. Augustine, *Expositio in Epistolas Pauli.*
88 leaves. 200 × 130. 1 col., 125 × 75. 19 lines.
2 N. S. $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$.
Plate CLXXXIV. 1 (fol. 6^{r}, somewhat reduced).

190. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 313 (St. Martin 16). Part II (foll. 94–147). St. Hilary and St. Jerome, *Letters;* Theodulf, *De Processione Sancti Spiritus.*
Parts I (foll. 1–93) and III (foll. 148–213) are works of the twelfth century, ruled with colored lead like No. 230 (Tours 300).
Ruling. 2 N. S. Script. Clear and traditional. Few cursive traits.
Abbreviations. Regular (only a few outside the list). $\overline{\text{ihs}}$ $\overline{\text{xps}}$ $\dot{t}$ $\overline{\text{ms}}$. Red titles.
Plate CLXXXIV. 2 (fol. 137^{r}).

191. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 803 (St. Martin 21).
MS. I. Boethius, *Arithmetica* and *Consolatio Philosophiae.*
MS. II. Dicuil, *Computus.*
MS. I (foll. 1–57).
57 leaves. 285 × 223. 2 cols., 225 × 78. 33 lines.
Ruling. 2 N. S. Revived Cursive; several hands.
Abbreviations. Regular. $\dot{t}$. Glosses for the *Consolatio.* Red titles and initials. Arithmetical diagrams.
MS. II (foll. 58–103).
46 leaves. 285 × 223. 1 col., 221 × 135. 25 lines.
2 N. S. Revived Cursive. Abbreviations. Regular. $\dot{t}$. Red titles and initials. Arithmetical diagrams.
This is apparently the same work of which it has been said that the only extant manuscript is Valenciennes 404 (386); see M. Esposito in *Modern Philology,* XVIII (1920), 177. Professor Esposito will shortly devote an article to this text of Tours.

Possibly this book, in both its parts, should be placed at the end of the ninth century rather than in the tenth.

Plates CLXXXIV. 3 (fol. 21^{r}), 4 (fol. 51^{v}), both somewhat reduced; CLXXXV. 1 (fol. 58^{v}).

192. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 876 (Marmoutier 271). Servius, *Liber Centimetrorum*, etc.

54 leaves. 135 × 95. 1 col., 85 × 55. 15 lines.

2 N. S. (generally, if not always, with correspondences). Revived Cursive. Clear and steady. Red titles. Simple red, and red and black initials, with some of the ancient designs. A pocket-grammar.

Plate CLXXXV. 2 (fol. 9^{v}–10^{r}, slightly reduced).

193. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1016 (St. Martin 75). *Opuscula S. Dionysii Areopagitae.*

87 leaves. 230 × 195. 1 col., 150 × 110. 15 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S.

Script. An archaistic style, suggesting a revived Embellished Cursive.

Abbreviations. Extended, including ap̓ (*apud*) $\overline{\text{gra}}$ (*gratia*) q< (*quia*) t̋ (*tur*) t̓ (*tus*) illi᷑ (*illius*).

Punctuation. The dot, placed low for half-pauses, high for whole pauses. Neums (fol. 28^{r}.)

Illumination. Titles with words alternately in different colors (red, black, yellow, blue).

I adopt the dating given in the *Catalogue Collon*, but possibly an archaistic style of this sort might have been cultivated rather in the eleventh century or, less probably, at the end of the ninth.

Plates CLXXXV. 3 (fol. 3^{v}, somewhat reduced); CLXXXVI. 1 (fol. 28^{r}, somewhat enlarged).

194. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1027 (St. Martin 47). Iohannes Diaconus, *Vita Sancti Gregorii.*

145 leaves. 250 × 180. 1 col., 207 × 129.

4 O. S. on the outer leaf. In most cases, the ruling has an indigo color, as though the point had been dipped in lead; the line is very broad. Sloppy script, perhaps not done at Tours.

Plate CLXXXVI. 2 (fol. 1^{r}, slightly reduced).

195. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1028 (St. Martin 198), *Vita Sancti Eligii.*

108 leaves. 330 × 230. 1 col., 230 × 143.

2 O. S. Neums (fol. 106[r]). Red titles and red initials of simple design. Fol. 32[r], an admirable drawing of St. Eligius (*saec.* XV ?).

Plate CLXXXVI. 3 (fol. 108[v], considerably reduced).

Probably Later or Doubtful Members of Group X

196. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9549 (St. Martin 37). Cassian, *Liber de Collationibus.*

133 leaves. 265 × 193. 1 col., 189 × 132. 28 lines.

Ruling. 2 (4) O. S., with two leaves in Q. XII, N. S.

Script. Sloppy at times, at times clear and firm. Initials. Some crude, some careful and conservative of ancient designs.

Ascribed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the tenth century.

Probably from another monastery. Fol. 129: istud (*sic*) liber sancte marie est. qui subtraxerit anatema sit. amen.

Plate CLXXXVII. 1 (fol. 3[r]).

197. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 267 (St. Gatian 121–122). Part I (St. Gatian 121): foll. 1-44. St. Ambrose, *De Excessu Carissimi Sui Fratris.*

44 leaves. 345 × 280. 2 cols., 244 × 89. 27 lines.

2 N. S. Red and black titles. Decorated initials. Part I attributed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the tenth century but very possibly of the eleventh.

Part II (St. Gatian 122): foll. 45-116. *Historia Beati Clementis.*

42 (37, 41) lines. Red and black titles. Decorated initials, some modern (fol. 46[r]), some ancient (fol. 61[r]), in style.

Plate CLXXXVII. 2 (fol. 2[r]), 3 (fol. 1[v]); CLXXXVIII. 1 (fol. 61[r]), all somewhat reduced.

198. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 315 (Marmoutier 100). Taius, *Sententiae ex Moralibus Gregorii.*

160 leaves. 360 × 270. 2 cols.

4 O. S. on the inner leaf. Script clear and traditional. Red and black titles, black letters filled with blue.

199. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1017 (Marmoutier 200). *Vita S. Martialis Lemovicensis.*

48 leaves. 239 × 165. 1 col., 161 × 93. 18 lines.

2 N. S. Red titles and red initials with graceful designs.

Plate CLXXXVIII. 2 (fol. 1r).

Period XI. *The Eleventh Century*

200. PARIS, B.N. lat. 8883 (St. Gatian 73). *Lectionarium Turonense.*

The lections are from the New Testament, from the *Passiones* of St. Maurice and other saints and from the *Martinellus.*

Ruling. 4 (2) O. S. In Quires I, II, VIII, the ruling is on the recto of the first outer leaf (hair-side) and on the recto of the first inner leaf following the binding, — the "outside-inside" style. See above, p. 16.

Script. Elegant.

Illumination. Initials in red and yellow containing developments of the ancient designs of Tours.

The contents of this book suggest that it might have been written at at St. Maurice's or at any rate, written for it.

Plate CLXXXVIII. 3 (fol. 20r).

201. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9434 (St. Gatian 63). *Missale Turonense.*

372 leaves. 300 × 201. 1 col., 229 × 125. 19 lines.

Ruling. 2 O. S. Script and abbreviations. Regular and conservative.

Illumination. Remarkable initials, some ancient (fol. 120r), some modern (fol. 121r), in style.

Plate CLXXXIX. 1 (fol. 120r), 2 (fol. 121r, reduced).

202. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9435 (St. Gatian 67). Guido d'Arezzo, *Musica Missarum.*

277 leaves. 342 × 232. 2 cols., 252 × 78. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. The staves are separately ruled in red.

Script. Perhaps Italian, like the neums.

Probably a present to St. Gatian.

Plate CXC. 1 (fol. 19r).

203. PARIS, B. N. LAT. 11832. *Charters of Marmoutier.*
The volume contains a miscellaneous collection of charters. No. 12: chartae quae spectant ad controversiam inter monachos Maioris Monasterii et Rothonenses de ecclesia Bairiacensi. Dated 1062.

204. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 18 (Marmoutier 3). *Job* (two Latin versions).
106 leaves. 221 × 132. 1 col., 139 × 75. 20 lines.
2 N. S. (or leaves ruled separately?). Red initials filled with green, yellow or blue.
Plate CXC. 2 (fol. 57r).

205. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 90 (Marmoutier 142). *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, by a Monk of Marmoutier.
255 leaves. 322 × 186. 2 cols., 232 × 80. 30, 32, 35 lines.
2 N. S.
An important document of humanism. See *Catalogue Collon.*
Plate CXC. 3 (fol. 109r, reduced).

206. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 107 (Marmoutier 104). Ambrosius Auspertus, *Expositio in Apocalipsim.*
119 leaves. 352 × 242. 2 cols., 242 × 71. 41, 42 lines.
Ruling. 2 N. S., with random selection from a pile.
Illumination. Red titles.

207. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 196 (Marmoutier 74). *Sacramentarium Turonense.*
301 leaves. 256 × 176.
2 N. S. Gold initials, red edges. Colors.
Leroquais, *Sacramentaires* I, 145 ff.

208. TOURS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE MUNICIPALE 252 (Marmoutier 136) Origen, *Liber Omeliarum in Veteri Testamento.*
222 leaves. 312 × 225. 1 col., 250 × 174. 41 lines.
2 O. S. Initials in red and brown with ancient designs of Tours.

209. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 263 (Marmoutier 76). St. Hilary, *Expositio in Matheum.*

57 leaves. 320 × 210. 1 col., 216 × 140. 30, 31 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S., with some random selection from a pile.

Script. Several hands. Hand A, apparently earlier, is contemporary with the other (manifestly later) hands.

Abbreviations. Extended. ih̄s ihc̄ xp̄c t̄ Also anḡlm (*angelum*) au̅ (*autem*) gl̄a (*gloria*) i̊g̊ (*igitur*) g̊ (*ergo*) m̊ (*modo*) q< (*quia*) s᾽ (*sed*) t̊ (*tibi*) t̊ (*tus*) *filı̄* potı̄ ů (*uero*), etc.

Illumination. Red initials of simple design.

Plate CXCI. 1 (fol. 40ᵛ, reduced: Hand A), 2 (fol. 41ʳ, reduced).

210. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 266 (Marmoutier 102). St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, *Opuscula.*

110 leaves. 350 × 250. 2 cols., 231 × 64 (broad margins). 28 lines.

2 N. S. Ornamental red initials.

211. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 271 (Marmoutier 50). St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, *Opuscula.*

157 leaves. 270 × 190. 2 N. S. Clear round hand. Red initials.

212. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 275 (St. Gatian 126). St. Jerome, *Prefaces* and *Explanatio in duodecim Prophetas.*

194 leaves. 390 × 275. 2 cols.

2 N. S. Red titles and initials.

213. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 284 + PARIS, B. N., N. A. lat. 457 (St. Martin 118, Libri 73). St. Augustine, *De Moribus Ecclesiae*, etc., Orientius, *Versus*, and Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini.*

118 leaves (102 Tours + 16 Paris). 256 × 185. 2 cols., 213 × 72. 30–44 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. (apparently). Some rulings in the Tours part (foll. 27ᵛ ff.) in lead.

Script. Smooth and clear. Various hands.

Illumination. Red titles and initials.

Plate CXCI. 3 (Paris, fol. 11ᵛ).

214. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 287 (Marmoutier 80). St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum.*

117 leaves. 355 × 280. 2 cols., 162 × 88.

Both 2 O. S. and 2 N. S. Initials with developed traditional designs in simple colors.

215. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 290 (Marmoutier 117). St. Augustine, *Expositio in Iohannem.*

254 leaves. 265 × 205. 2 N. S. Red initials and titles.

216. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 293 (St. Gatian 131). St. Augustine, *Expositio in Iohannem.*

256 leaves. 256 × 205. 2 N. S. Splendid red initials.

Plate CXCI. 4 (fol. 242^{r}, a bit reduced).

217. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 294 (St. Gatian 128). St. Augustine, *Expositio in Psalmos.*

140 leaves. 420 × 320. 2 cols., 2 N. S. Ornamental initial with miniature.

Plate CXCII. 1 (fol. 1^{r}, somewhat reduced).

218. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 310 (St. Gatian 146). MS. A. St. Gregory, *Expositio in Evangelia.*

242 leaves. 280 × 205. 2 cols.

2 N. S. Ornamental initials in red and blue.

Plate CXCII. 2 (fol. 2^{v}, somewhat reduced).

219. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 316 (St. Gatian 150). St. Gregory, *Letters.*

160 leaves. 360 × 270. 2 cols.

2 N. S. An interesting font of initials in red or blue with simpler letters, alternately red and blue, in titles.

Plate CXCII. 3 (fol. 1^{r}).

220. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 617 (Marmoutier 199). Caesarius of Arles, *Opuscula.*

26 leaves. 215 × 142. 1 col., 165 × 118. 20 lines.

2 O. S. Script full of cursive traits.

221. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 621 (Marmoutier 135). St. Benedict Anianensis, *Concordia Regularum.*

123 leaves. 310 × 245.

2 N. S. Red and black initials.

Later Members of Group XI

222. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9553 (St. Martin 115 + 116). Fulgentius, *Homelia de Conversione Sancti Pauli*; Parts of *Bible* (*Isaiah*, *St. Paul*).

114 leaves. 290 × 210. 1 col., 230 × 130. 32 (31) lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. with random selections from a pile, unless (less probably) each leaf was separately ruled.

Illumination. Titles with a mixture of red and green, red and blue, red and black letters. Simple initials in red, blue or green, with occasional vine-finials reminiscent of the best style of Tours.

Ascribed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the tenth century.

Plate CXCIII. 1 (fol. 49[r]).

223. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 297 (St. Gatian 133). St. Augustine, *Opuscula.*

131 leaves. 345 × 270. 2 cols.

2 N. S. Fine red initials.

224. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale, 497 (St. Gatian 104). *Collection of Sermons.*

265 leaves. 400 × 280. 2 cols.

2 N. S. Stately script. Called eleventh century in the *Catalogue Collon*, but possibly twelfth. Red and blue initials and titles.

225. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1018 (St. Martin 155). *Martinellus* (enlarged).

217 leaves. 220 × 160. 1 col., 151 × 90. 15 lines.

2 N. S. Attributed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the eleventh century, but possibly of the twelfth. Red titles and excellent initials in red and yellow with simple designs. More elaborate initials of a remarkable sort with miniatures. If these were added later, as may be the case, the *Catalogue* is probably right in its dating of

the book. See the bibliography and the description of the miniatures given in the *Catalogue*.

Plates CXCIII. 2 (fol. 5^{v}, somewhat reduced), 3 (fol. 176^{v}, considerably reduced); CXCIV. 1 (fol. 9^{v}), 2 (fol. 15^{r}); CXCV. 1 (fol. 38^{r}).

226. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 1019 (St. Martin 154). *Martinellus* (enlarged).

Five parts, perhaps different manuscripts, in this volume. Parts II-V are assigned in the *Catalogue Collon* to the twelfth century or later, Part I (foll. 1–104) to the ninth. The script is worthy of the ancient tradition, but not for that reason as early as the ninth century. The illumination, apparently contemporary with the script, seems surely of the later period.

104 leaves. 270 × 125. 2 cols., 200 × 62. 25 lines. Red headings, some in gold with black background set off with white dots. Elaborate initials.

Plate CXCV. 2 (fol. 1^{r}); CXCVI. 1 (fol. 77^{v}), 2 (fol. 25^{v}, reduced), 3 (fol. 31^{v}, reduced), 4 (fol. 32^{v}, slightly reduced), 5 (fol. 61^{r}, greatly reduced).

Period XII. *The Twelfth Century*

227. PARIS, B. N. lat. 9431 (Marmoutier 123). *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.*

146 leaves. 290 × 225. 2 cols., 207 × 63. 22 lines.

Ruling. 2 N. S. with random selection from a pile, unless each leaf was ruled separately. Secondary rulings uncertain.

Script. Round and stately. True to the best liturgic tradition.

Abbreviations. $\overline{\text{IHC}}$ $\overline{\text{XPS}}$.

Illumination. Neat initials in red, in blue, in red and blue and in other colors.

Ascribed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the eleventh century.

Plate CXCVII. 1 (fol. 39^{r}).

Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, I, pp. 217 ff.

228. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 193. *Sacramentarium Martinianum.*

62 leaves. 280 × 218. 2 cols., 218 × 71. 22 lines.

Each page separately ruled, with ink. Beautiful illumination. Fine initials (gold, red, blue) and miniatures.

Leroquais, *Sacramentaires*, I, pp. 313 ff., Pl. XXXIX (fol. 70^{v}); XL (initials from foll. 78^{v}, 89^{r}, 109^{r}, 116^{v}).

229. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 291 (St. Gatian 139). St. Augustine, *Opuscula*.

155 leaves. 375 × 285. 2 cols., 270 × 90. 34 lines.

2 N. S. Ascribed in the *Catalogue Collon* to the eleventh century, but apparently of the twelfth. A treasure-house of initials, illustrating the art of Tours at that time. Now and then the ancient designs appear (fol. 20^{v}), but in general there is a display of inventiveness, humor and life.

Plates CXCVII. 2 (fol. 20^{v}), 3 (fol. 82^{r}); CXCVIII. 1 (fol. 39^{r}), 2 (fol. 51^{r}), 3 (fol. 87^{r}), 4 (fol. 132^{r}); CXCIX. 1 (fol. 83^{r}), 2 (fol. 89^{r}), 3 (fol. 97^{r}), 4 (fol. 118^{v}), 5 (fol. 135^{r}), 6 (fol. 138^{r}). All of the photographs of this manuscript are more or less reduced.

230. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 300 (St. Martin 67). *Miscellany*.

75 leaves. 260 × 180.

Pages ruled separately in reddish-brown lead, much as in No. 23 (Tours 22).

231. TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale 924 (St. Martin 1). Terence, *Comoediae*, with illustrations.

Ruling generally in light indigo lead on each page. In some cases, ruling *à la pointe sèche* is clear. It would look as though the manuscript had first been ruled (in some cases at least) 2 N. S., and then the pages had been separately ruled in lead.

For a complete description of this book with reproductions, see the forthcoming work by L. W. Jones and C. R. Morey, *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence* (in the Princeton series, *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Middle Ages*) and also the latter's article, "The Archetypes of the Terence Miniatures," in *The Art Bulletin*, X (1927), 102-120.

Plate CC. 1 (fol. 10^{r}: *Andria* IV. 4), 2 (fol. 45^{v}; *Adelphi* III. 3).

232. *List of Manuscripts Examined and Rejected.*

Those marked * I have seen, others I know merely from photographs.

AMIENS, Bibliothèque Municipale.

*223. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Sancta Cruce*, *saec.* IX.

ANGERS, Bibliothèque Municipale.

*3-4. *Bible*, *saec.* IX.

*5-6. *Bible*, *saec.* IX/X.

*18. *Psalter*, *saec.* IX/X.

BERNE, Stadtbibliothek.

*184. Virgil, *saec.* IX/X.

*225. Cassiodorus, St. Jerome; etc., *saec.* IX^{in}.

BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.

*3092. Prosper, *Chronicon*, *saec.* IX.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana.

Ashburnham, 83 (33). St. Augustine, *De Conflictu Virtutum*, *saec.* IX.

HAGUE, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum.

Q. 9. *Libellus de quattuor virtutibus*, *saec.* IX.

F. 4. *Canones*, *saec.* IX.

LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale.

*84. Alcuin, *Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis*, *saec.* X.

*131. St. Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, *saec.* IX.

*328bis. Cassian, *Institutiones*, etc., *saec.* IX.

LE MANS, Bibliothèque Municipale.

*77. *Sacramentary*, *saec.* IX.

LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit.

Lat. *Q. 60. *Pontificale Damasi*, *saec.* IX.

LONDON, British Museum.

Harley *647. *Aratea*, *saec.* IX^{ex}.

*King's Library, 8. E. XV. Alcuin, *Letters* (hardly *saec.* VIII, rather *saec.* IX^{med}).

LYONS, Bibliothèque de la Ville.

*597. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*, *saec.* IX.

MANCHESTER, John Rylands Library.

*9. *Gospels*, *saec.* X.

MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque de l'Université.

*H. 113. Lucan, *saec.* IX/X.

MUNICH, Staatsbibliothek.

*4592. *Canones*, *saec.* IX.

*15813. Alcuin, *De Sancta Trinitate*, etc., *saec.* IX.

*23631. *Gospels* (*Codex Purpureus*), *saec.* VIII^{ex}.

NEW YORK, The Pierpont Morgan Library.

*MS. 23. *Gospels*. (This splendid book, "The Golden Gospels of Henry VIII," is certainly not English work of about 700 A.D., as H. C. Hoskier in his publication of the manuscript declared. It is French work under the influence of Tours, but rather from some Franco-Saxon centre than from Tours itself.)

NEW YORK, Library of George A. Plimpton.

Fragment of Bible. Mr. Plimpton possesses a leaf of a Bible (part of *Genesis*) which he kindly allowed me to inspect and of which he sent me a photograph. It may possibly be of the School of Tours, but more probably it was written at some place under the influence of Tours.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Lat. *1820. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*, *saec.* VIII^{ex}.

Lat. *5577. Alcuin, *Letters*, etc., *saec.* IX.

Lat. *5583. *Martinellus*, *saec.* IX.

Lat. *5584. *Martinellus*, *saec.* X.

Lat. *6601. Cicero, *De Officiis*, etc., *saec.* IX^{ex}.

Lat. *7296. Bede, *De Temporibus*, *saec.* IX.

Lat. *7493. Diomedes, etc., *saec.* IX.

Lat. *7505. Priscian, *saec.* IX.

Lat. *7582. Isidore, *saec.* IX.

Lat. *7886. *Aratea*, *saec.* IX^{ex}.

Lat. *8067. Martial, *saec.* IX/X.

Lat. *9452. *Liber Comitis*, *saec.* IX^{ex}.

Lat. *9576 + N. A. lat. 1875. Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Ezechielem. saec.* IX^{med}. By Albinus, a scribe of Fleury.

Lat. *10314. Lucan, *saec.* IX.

Lat. *11504-05. *Bible, an.* 822 (perhaps under the influence of style IVa).

Lat. *11553. *Bible* (second half), *saec.* IX.

Lat. *16739-40. *Bible, saec.* IX.

N. A. lat. *1570. Paterius, *Excerpta ex Gregorio Magno, saec.* IX.

N. A. lat. *1624. Virgil, *saec.* XI.

N. A. lat. *1626. Lucan, *saec.* IX^{ex}.

N. A. lat. *2243. Collection of fragments of various manuscripts.

REIMS, Bibliothèque de la Ville.

*1-2. *Bible, saec.* IX.

*7. *Gospels, saec.* IX.

ROME, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

Lat. *3864. Caesar, Pliny, Sallust, *saec.* IX.

Pal. lat. *845. *Martinellus, saec.* IX.

Reg. lat. *342. Alcuin and St. Jerome, *saec.* IX^{in}.

Reg. lat. *530. Gregory of Tours, *Liber Miraculorum, saec.* IX.

Reg. lat. *612. *Formulae, saec.* X.

Reg. lat. *669. *Convocatio et Actus Sancti Maximini, saec.* IX^{med}.

Reg. lat. *849. *Canones, saec.* IX.

Reg. lat. *1127. *Canones, saec.* IX^{med}.

ST. GALL, Stiftsbibliothek.

*77. *Bible* (part), *saec.* IX.

*258. Alcuin, *Varia, saec.* IX.

*268. Alcuin, *Grammatica, saec.* IX^{in}.

STUTTGART, Hofbibliothek.

*Hist. quarto 36. *Martinellus, saec.* IX^{ex}.

TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale.

*676. Claudius of Turin, *Commentarius in Matheum, saec.* IX^{in}.

*1069. Angelomus Monachus, *Expositio in Genesim, saec.* IX.

*1165. Alcuin, *Letters*, etc., *saec.* IX^{in}.

The Manuscripts of Tours

VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek.

*767. Bede, *Expositio in Marcum*, *saec.* VIII/IX.

*1007. St. John Chrysostom, *Homeliae in Matheum*, *saec.* VIII/IX.

*1332. St. Jerome, *Opuscula*, *saec.* VIII/IX.

*2141. *Canones*, *saec.* VIII/IX.

*2147. *Canones*, *saec.* VIII/IX.

INDICES

Index of Manuscripts

The number of a manuscript (except, of course, for the excluded manuscripts in No. 232) is preceded by the number of the class to which I have assigned it.

I have placed in parentheses after each member a letter indicating the name of the friend who first called my attention to the manuscript in question:

B = C. H. Beeson. Bs = Dom G. Beyssac, O.S.B. C = F. M. Carey. K = W. Köhler. Lm = P. Lehmann. L = E. A. Lowe. W = Dom A. Wilmart, O.S.B.

As stated in the Preface (p. vii), I was enabled to consult Traube's list through the kindness of Professor Lehmann. Of course, the manuscripts here labelled T represent not all the books of Tours with which Traube was familiar or all that were on his list, but merely those with which I was unacquainted at the time. And the same is true of Köhler's list.

AMIENS, Bibliothèque Municipale.

223. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Sancta Cruce*. No. 232.

ANGERS, Bibliothèque Municipale.

1–2. *Bible*. V. No. 70.
3–4. *Bible*. No. 232.
5–6. *Bible*. No. 232.
18. *Psalter*. No. 232 (T).

AUTUN, Bibliothèque Municipale.

19 bis. *Sacramentarium Gregorianum*. VI. No. 105.
40. Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*. VI. No. 106 (K).

BAMBERG, Staatsbibliothek.

A. 1.5. *Bible*. IVb. No. 47.
H. J. IV. 12. Boethius, *Arithmetica*. V. No. 71.

BASLE, Universitätsbibliothek.

A. N. I. 3. *Bible*. V. No. 95.
B. II. 11. *Gospels*. V. No. 96.

BERLIN, Preussische Staatsbibliothek.

Hamilton 82. *Bible*. V. No. 97 (T).
Hamilton 248. *Gospels*. VI. No. 124 (T).
Lat. Q. 404. Cicero, *De Amicitia*, etc. IVa. No. 39 (B).
Theol. lat. F. 733. *Gospels of Prüm*. VI. No. 107 (T).
126. (Philipp. 1872) St. Jerome, *Chronica Eusebii*. V. No. 72 (T).
115. (Philipp. 1877) *Martinellus*. VI. No. 108 (K).

Bibliothek des Kunstgewerbemuseums.

Bible (fragment). VI. No. 125 (T).

BERNE, Stadtbibliothek.

3–4. *Bible*. V. No. 73.
165. Virgil, *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*. IVb. No. 64.
184. Virgil. No. 232.
225. Cassiodorus, St. Jerome, etc. No. 232 (K).

Index of Manuscripts

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, Bibliothèque Publique.
51 (55). *Ex Libris Beati Augustini de Sancta Trinitate Collecta.* IVb. No. 65 (L).

BRUSSELS, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique.
3092. Prosper, *Chronicon.* No. 232.
9591. Cicero. *De Senectute.* IX. No. 176.

CAMBRAI, Bibliothèque Municipale.
295. Bede, *Expositio in Lucam.* IVa. No. 40.
386. *Apocalypse.* IX. No. 177 (T).
828. *Martinellus.* IX. No. 150 (T).

CHARTRES, Bibliothèque Municipale.
24. *Liber Comitis.* V. No. 74.
98. Hrabanus Maurus, *Commentarius in Matheum.* VII. No. 129 (L).
111. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Danielem.* VII. No. 130 (L).

COLOGNE, Dombibliothek.
I. *Bible.* VII. No. 137.
XIII. *Gospels.* IVa. No. 41.
CVI. Alcuin, Bede *et alia.* IVa. No. 42.
CVII. Alcuin, *Expositio in Iohannem.* IVb. No. 48.

DIJON, Archives Générales du Département de la Côte-d'Or.
Gospel of St. Matthew (fragment). VI. No. 109.

FLORENCE, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana.
XLV 15. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos.* II. No. 8.
LXIII 20. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* (the Third Decade). X. No. 182.
Ashburnham, 83 (33). St. Augustine, *De Conflictu Virtutum.* No. 232 (K).
Museo Nazionale.
The Bargello Fan. VI. No. 110.

GHENT, Bibliothèque de l'Université.
102. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*, IVa. No. 24 (T).
240. Bede, *Expositio in Apocalypsim.* IVa. No. 43 (K).

GRENOBLE, Bibliothèque de la Ville.
Gospels (fragment). VI. No. 111 (K).

HAGUE, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum.
Q. 3. *Liber propriae in gloria sancti martyris Iuliani.* IX. No. 158 (K).
Q. 5. *Martinellus.* V. No. 98 (Lm).
Q. 9. *Libellus de quattuor virtutibus.* No. 232 (K).
F. 4. *Canones.* No. 232 (K).

HOLKHAM, Holkham Hall.
387. Cicero, *Orationes.* IVa. No. 25.

LAON, Bibliothèque Municipale.
63. *Gospels.* VI. No. 112.
84. Alcuin, *Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis.* No. 232 (T).
131. St. Augustine, *De Catechizandis Rudibus.* No. 232.
220. Amalarius, *De Officiis et de Ordine Ecclesiastico.* V. No. 75 (T).
328 bis. Cassian, *Institutiones*, etc. No. 232.

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LE MANS, Bibliothèque Municipale.
77. *Sacramentary*. No. 232.

LEYDEN, Bibliothek der Rijks-Universiteit.
Lat. 1685. *Vita Sancti Germani* (fragment). VI. No. 113 (T).
Lat. Q. 20. Quintus Curtius, *Historiae*, etc. V. No. 76; IX. No. 151.
Lat. Q. 60. *Pontificale Damasi*. No. 232.
Voss. lat. F. 73. Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina in Filium*. IVa. No. 26.
Voss. lat. F. 113. Aethicus Cosmographus, etc. VI. No. 114 (T).

LONDON, British Museum.
Additional 10546. *The Moûtiers-Grandval Bible*. V. No. 77.
Additional 11848. *Gospels of Compiègne*, V. No. 78.
Additional 11849. *Gospels*. VII. No. 131.
Additional 37768. *Psalter of Lothaire*. VIII. No. 139.
Arundel 125. *Job* and *Ezra*. IX. No. 152.
Egerton 609. *Gospels of Marmoutier*. VIII. No. 140.
Egerton 768. *Gospels* (*St. Luke* and *St. John*). VIII. No. 141.
Egerton 2831. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*. II. No. 7.
Harley 647. *Aratea*. No. 232.
Harley 2790. *Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers*. IVa. No. 27.
Harley 2793. *Psalter*, IVa. No. 28.
Harley 2805. *Bible*. IVb. No. 49.
King's Library, 8. E. XV. Alcuin, *Letters*. No. 232.
Library of A. Chester Beatty.
8. *Gospels*. VI. No. 115.
11. Ansegisus, Capitula. IX. No. 153.
Library of Henry Yates Thompson.
See No. 115.

LYONS, Bibliothèque de la Ville.
597. Hrabanus Maurus, *De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis*. No. 232 (T).

MANCHESTER, John Rylands Library.
9. *Gospels*. No. 232.

MONTPELLIER, Bibliothèque de l'Université.
H. 113. Lucan. No. 232 (K).
H. 412. St. Augustine, *Enchiridion de fide et spe et caritate*, etc. III. No. 11 (K).

MONZA, Biblioteca Capitolare.
G. 1. *Bible*. IVa. No. 29.

MUNICH, Staatsbibliothek.
4592. *Canones*. No. 232.
15813. Alcuin, *De Sancta Trinitate*, etc. No. 232.
23631. *Gospels* (*Codex Purpureus*). No. 232.

NANCY, Treasury of the Cathedral.
Gospels of St. Gozlin. V. No. 79.

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NEW YORK, The Pierpont Morgan Library.
MS. 23. *Gospels*. No. 232.
MS. 191. *Gospels*. IVa. No. 35.
Library of George A. Plimpton.
Fragment of Bible. No. 232.

OXFORD, Bodleian Library.
218 (2054). Bede, *Expositio in Lucam*. IVb. No. 66 (T).

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale.
Lat. 1. *The Vivian Bible*. VI. No. 116.
Lat. 3. *The Bible of Rorigo*. V. No. 80.
Lat. 47. *The Faure Bible*. VI. No. 117.
Lat. 68. *Bible*. IVb. No. 50.
Lat. 250. *Gospels*. V. No. 81.
Lat. 260. *Gospels*. IVa. No. 36.
Lat. 261. *Gospels of Le Mans*. VII. No. 132.
Lat. 263. *Gospels*. VI. No. 118.
Lat. 266. *Gospels of Lothaire*. VI. No. 119.
Lat. 267. *Gospels*. VII. No. 133.
Lat. 274. *Gospels of Meaux*. V. No. 82.
Lat. 324. *Gospels*. VIII. No. 142.
Lat. 1451. *Canones*. IVa. No. 44 (K).
Lat. 1572. *Acta Concilii Ephesini*. I. No. 6 (T).
Lat. 1711. Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum et Gesta Purgationis Caeciliani*. III. No. 12.
Lat. 1820. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*. No. 232.
Lat. 4333 b. *Regulae Monasticae*. III. No. 19 (T).
Lat. 4404. *Breviarium Alarici*. IVa. No. 45 (K).
Lat. 4406 + 9652. *Breviarium Alarici*. IVb. No. 54 (L).
Lat. 5325. *Martinellus*. IVb. No. 51.
Lat. 5516. I. *Liber Pontificalis*. II. *Canons of the Council of Paris of 829* a. d. V. No. 83.
Lat. 5577. Alcuin, *Letters*, etc. No. 232.
Lat. 5580. *Martinellus*. V. No. 84.
Lat. 5581. *Martinellus*. III. No. 13 (Bs).
Lat. 5582. *Martinellus*. VI. No. 120.
Lat. 5583. *Martinellus*. No. 232.
Lat. 5584. *Martinellus*. No. 232 (W).
Lat. 5726. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, Books VI–X. III. No. 14.
Lat. 6115. Suetonius, *Vita Caesarum*. IVb. No. 67.
Lat. 6601. Cicero, *De Officiis*, etc. No. 232 (B).
Lat. 7296. Bede, *De Temporibus*. No. 232 (C).
Lat. 7493. Diomedes, etc. No. 232 (C).
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Lat. 7505. Priscian. No. 232 (C).
Lat. 7582. Isidore. No. 232 (C).
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Lat. 9386. *Gospels.* VIII. No. 143 (T).
Lat. 9397. *Bible* (parts). IVb. No. 53 (T).
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Lat. 9431. *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.* XII. No. 227.
Lat. 9434. *Missale Turonense.* XI. No. 201.
Lat. 9435. Guido d'Arezzo, *Musica Missarum.* XI. No. 202.
Lat. 9452. *Liber Comitis.* No. 232 (W).
Lat. 9549. Cassian, *Liber de Collationibus.* XI. No. 196.
Lat. 9553. Fulgentius, *Homilia de Sancto Paulo; Bible* (parts). XI. No. 222.
Lat. 9576 + N. A. lat. 1875. Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Ezechielem.* No. 232.
Lat. 9603. Haymo of Auxerre, *Collection of Sermons.* IX. No. 155.
Lat. 9604. Paulus Diaconus, *Collection of Sermons.* IX. No. 156.
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Lat. 9729. *Vitae Patrum.* IX. No. 157.
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Lat. 13388. *Confessio S. Fulgentii.* VIII. No. 143a.
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Lat. 17227. *Gospels of Adalbaldus.* IVa. No. 30.
Lat. 18312. *Martinellus.* IVa. No. 31.
N. A. lat. 405. Orosius, *Historiae.* V. No. 99.
N. A. lat. 442. *Psalter* (in Tironian Notes). VI. No. 122.
N. A. lat. 445 + Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 281. *Letters* of St. Augustine and St. Jerome. V. No. 91.
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N. A. lat. 1490. MS. I. Hegesippus, *Historiae.* V. No. 87.
MS. II. Iohannes Scottus, *Expositio super Hierarchias S. Dionysii Areopagitae.* IX. No. 160.
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N. A. lat. 1572. St. Augustine, *De Genesi ad Litteram.* V. No. 100 (T).

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N. A. LAT. 1577. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Oseam.* X. No. 184.
N. A. LAT. 1586. *The Marmoutier Prophets.* I. No. 4.
N. A. LAT. 1587. *The Gospels of St. Gatian.* II. No. 10.
N. A. LAT. 1589. *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.* IX. No. 161.
N. A. LAT. 1592. St. Hilary, *De Sancta Trinitate*, Books VI–XI. I. No. 1.
N. A. LAT. 1595. St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana.* IVB. No. 58.
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N. A. LAT. 1626. Lucan. No. 232 (K).
N. A. LAT. 1712. Gregory of Tours, *Liber Miraculorum*, IVB. No. 59.
N. A. LAT. 1875. See B. N. lat. 9576.
N. A. LAT. 2243. Collection of fragments of various manuscripts. No. 232.
N. A. LAT. 2322. Paulus Diaconus, *Collection of Sermons.* V. No. 101.
N. A. LAT. 2332. fol. 3. Philippus, *Expositio in Iob* (fragment). I. No. 5.
N. A. LAT. 2334. *The Ashburnham Pentateuch.* I. No. 2.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'ARSENAL.
1171. *Gospels.* VIII. No. 145.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE MAZARINE.
274. *Evangelistary.* IVB. No. 60 (W).

BIBLIOTHÈQUE STE GENEVIÈVE.
1260. *Evangelistary.* IVA. No. 32 (L).

QUEDLINBURG, STIFTS–UND–GYMNASIALBIBLIOTHEK.
79. *Martinellus.* V. No. 88.

REIMS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE LA VILLE.
1–2. *Bible.* No. 232.
7. *Gospels.* No. 232.

ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA.
LAT. 43. *Gospels.* VIII. No. 144 (T).
LAT. 1512. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos.* II. No. 9.
LAT. 3864. Caesar, Pliny, Sallust. No. 232.
OTT. LAT. 313. *Martyrologium Bedae* and *Sacramentarium Gregorianum.* VIII. No. 148.
PAL. LAT. 153. St. John of Constantinople, *Commentarium in Epistolam Pauli ad Hebraeos.* IVA. No. 37.
PAL. LAT. 209. St. Augustine, *Libri Quaestionum in Matheum et Lucam* and other *Opuscula;* St. Jerome, *Letters.* IX. No. 163.
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Reg. lat. 669. *Convocatio et Actus Sancti Maximini*. No. 232 (C).
Reg. lat. 762. Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, the Third Decade. III. No. 16.
Reg. lat. 849. *Canones*. No. 232 (C).
Reg. lat. 1127. *Canones*. No. 232 (K).
Reg. lat. 1484. Tiberius Claudius Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae Aeneidos*, Books I–VI. V. No. 89.
Urb. lat. 532. Boethius, *Contra Eutychen et Nestorium;* Paulus Diaconus, *Versus in Laudem Sancti Iohannis Baptistae*. III. No. 20.
Urb. lat. 1146. "Apicius," *De Re Coquinaria*. V. No. 90 (T).

Treasury of San Paolo fuori le Mura.

Bible. VIII. No. 146.

Biblioteca Vallicellana.

B. 6. *Bible*. VIII. No. 147.

ST. GALL, Stiftsbibliothek.
75. *Bible*. IVa. No. 33.
77. *Bible* (part). No. 232.
258. Alcuin, *Varia*. No. 232 (T).
268. Alcuin, *Grammatica*. No. 232.

ST. PETERSBURG (LENINGRAD), Gosudárstvennaya Publíčnaya Biblióteka.
Q. v. I. no. 21. *Gospels*. V. No. 102 (K).

STUTTGART, Hofbibliothek.
Hist. quarto 36. *Martinellus*. No. 232 (T).
II 40. *Bible*. V. No. 103 (T).

TOURS, Bibliothèque Municipale.
10. *Biblè*. III. No. 17.
18. *Job*. XI. No. 204.
22. *Gospels*. IV. No. 23.
23. *Gospels*. VIII. No. 149.
90. *Paraphrase of the Psalms*, by a Monk of Marmoutier. XI. No. 205.
106. Hrabanus Maurus, *Expositio in Matheum*. VI. No. 123; X. No. 185.
107. Ambrosius Auspertus, *Expositio in Apocalipsim*. XI. No. 206.
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193. *Sacramentarium Martinianum*. XII. No. 228.
196. *Sacramentarium Turonense*. XI. No. 207.
252. Origen, *Liber Omeliarum in Veteri Testamento*. XI. No. 208.
256. St. Cyprian, *Letters* and *Opuscula*. IX. No. 178.
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273. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam.* IVA. No. 34.
274. St. Jerome, *Expositio in Ezechielem.* X. No. 187.
275. St. Jerome, *Prefaces* and *Explanatio in duodecim Prophetas.* XI. No. 212.
279. St. Augustine and St. Jerome, *Opuscula.* IX. No. 170.
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287. St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum.* XI. No. 214.
288. St. Augustine, *Expositio in Epistolas Pauli.* X. No. 189.
289. St. Augustine, *Contra Faustum.* IVB. No. 69.
290. St. Augustine, *Expositio in Iohannem.* XI. No. 215.
291. St. Augustine, *Opuscula.* XII. No. 229.
293. St. Augustine, *Expositio in Iohannem.* XI. No. 216.
294. St. Augustine, *Expositio in Psalmos.* XI. No. 217.
297. St. Augustine, *Opuscula.* XI. No. 223.
300. *Miscellany.* XII. No. 230.
309. St. Gregory, *Homeliae in Evangelia.* VII. No. 136.
310. St. Gregory, *Expositio in Evangelia.* XI. No. 218.
313. Theodulf, *De Processione Sancti Spiritus.* X. No. 190.
315. Taius, *Sententiae ex Moralibus Gregorii.* X. No. 198.
316. St. Gregory, *Letters.* XI. No. 219.
334 + PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1612, 1613, 1614. Bede, *De Naturis Rerum;* St. Jerome, *De Sollempnitatibus Paschae;* Boethius, *Arithmetica; Aratea* (in prose), etc. IX. No. 172.
335. Bede, *De Tabernaculo.* IX. No. 173.
497. *Collection of Sermons.* XI. No. 224.
556. *Canones.* IX. No. 174.
617. Caesarius of Arles, *Opuscula.* XI. No. 220.
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844. St. Isidore, *Etymologiae.* V. No. 92.
850. *Liber Glossarum.* IX. No. 175.
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1018. *Martinellus.* XI. No. 225.
1019. *Martinellus.* XI. No. 226.
1027. Iohannes Diaconus, *Vita Sancti Gregorii.* X. No. 194.
1028. *Vita Sancti Eligii.* X. No. 195.
1521. Gregory of Tours, *Varia.* IX. No. 158.

TREVES, Stadtbibliothek.
31. *Apocalypse.* IX. No. 181 (T).
Inc. 921. *Bible* (fragment). VI. No. 126 (K).

TROYES, Bibliothèque Municipale.
29. *Old Testament.* V. No. 93 (T).
676. Claudius of Turin, *Commentarius in Matheum.* No. 232 (K).
1069. Angelomus Monachus, *Expositio in Genesim.* No. 232 (T).
1165. Alcuin, *Letters*, etc. No. 232 (K).
1742. Alcuin, *Liber de Virtutibus et de Vitiis.* IVa. No. 38.

VALENCIENNES, Bibliothèque Municipale.
518. *Martinellus.* IVa. No. 46 (T).

VIENNA, Nationalbibliothek.
89. P. Sextus Rufus, *De Gestis Romanorum;* St. Isidore, *Ordo temporum, Glossae Variae*, etc. III. No. 21 (T).
418. *Canones.* III. No. 22 (T).
468. *Martinellus.* V. No. 104 (T).
767. Bede, *Expositio in Marcum.* No. 232 (T).
1007. St. John Chrysostom, *Homeliae in Matheum.* No. 232 (T).
1332. St. Jerome, *Opuscula.* No. 232 (T).
2133. *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae, saec.* XII (with fragment of a Bible of Tours). VI. No. 127 (K).
2141. *Canones.* No. 232 (T).
2147. *Canones.* No. 232 (T).

WOLFENBÜTTEL, Landesbibliothek.
2186. *Gospels.* VI. No. 128 (T).
4400. Nonius Marcellus, *Compendiosa Doctrina ad Filium.* V. No. 94.

ZÜRICH, Zentralbibliothek.
C. 1. *Bible.* IVb. No. 63.

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II. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 2334 (No. 2), 1. fol. 115^{r}; 2. fol. 110^{r}; 3. fol. 72^{r}.
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V. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1575 (No. 3), fol. 114^{r}.
VI. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1575 (No. 3), fol. 39^{r}.
VII. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1586 (No. 4), fol. 94^{v}.
VIII. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1586 (No. 4), fol. 207^{r}.
IX. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 1586 (No. 4), 1. fol. 139^{r}; 2. fol. 114^{v}; 3. fol. 55^{r}.
X. PARIS, B. N., N. A. LAT. 2332 (No. 5), fol. 3^{r}.
XI. PARIS, B. N., LAT. 1572 (No. 6), 1. fol. 14^{r}; 2. fol. 164^{v}.

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XIII. LONDON, B. M. EGERTON 2831 (No. 7), 1. fol. 33^{r}; 2. fol. 98^{r}; 3. fol. 117^{v}, top; 4. fol. 117^{v}, bottom.
XIV. FLORENCE, MED.-LAUR., XLV 15 (No. 8), fol. 11^{v}.
XV. FLORENCE, MED.-LAUR., XLV 15 (No. 8), fol. 70^{r}.
XVI. ROME, VAT. LAT. 1512 (No. 9), fol. 30^{v}.
XVII. ROME, VAT. LAT. 1512 (No. 9), 1. fol. 162^{r}; 2. fol. 48^{r}; 3. fol. 67^{v}; 4. fol. 24^{v}.
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